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**VIETNAM**

**TAP CHI CONG SAN**

**No. 3, March 1983**



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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## BRINGING ABOUT A STRONG CHANGE IN WILL AND ACTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 1-5

[Editorial]

[Text] Giving the entire party, all the people and the entire army a thorough understanding of the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum and bringing about a strong change in the revolutionary thinking, will and actions of all of society are the most important task in ideological work at this time.

Following the phase of political activity to study the resolutions of the 5th National Congress, our cadres and party members acquired a deeper understanding of the country's situation, the matters pertaining to the lines and policies of the party and the tasks and objectives of the revolution. The most recent changes in the economy have also helped our cadres and party members to become more confident and enthusiastic. The majority of them have been displaying high revolutionary will and bravely struggling to overcome every difficulty and complete the tasks assigned by the party and the people. However, some persons are still expressing concerns over our ability to organize implementation, over the measures being taken to overcome the difficulties in the economy and in everyday life. Some cadres and party members still have a vague idea of what the struggle between socialism and capitalism involves. A number of persons have done things that have not been consistent with the positions and policies of the party and state. Some cadres and party members have expressed an attitude of doubt and pessimism, lacked vigilance and lacked a sense of responsibility in the face of the difficulties of the country. Such incorrect thinking has adversely affected the effort to implement the positions and policies of the party.

In order to insure the successful implementation of the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum, overcome negative phenomena, strengthen the solidarity and unanimity within the party and increase the party's fighting strength, the ideological work of the party must be intensified. Ideological work must focus on teaching the resolution of the party in a thorough manner, in a strong offensive spirit reflecting determination to struggle against and criticize thoughts and attitudes that are contrary to the viewpoints of the party.

To begin with, it is necessary to insure that our cadres, party members and people correctly evaluate the tremendous achievements that have been recorded and the changes of important significance that have occurred within the economy, especially in agricultural production and the production of consumer and export goods. These changes, although only initial, are very important and have opened new prospects for stabilizing and developing production, for resolving the problems being faced in social life. The recent changes in the economy once again confirm that the line and guidelines of the party for building and developing the economy are correct; the new economic policies of the party and state have been and are bringing about new changes in productive labor. The realities of the past 2 years refute the attitude of pessimism and doubt concerning the ability of our country's economy to change. However, the changes and progress within the economy have not been uniform or strong; the socio-economic situation continues to be one of major difficulties. We must show everyone the sharp and complex nature of the socio-economic difficulties that we face at this time and must overcome simplistic thinking concerning these difficulties. Once the situation has been correctly evaluated, it is necessary to draw good experiences in work methods, economic management, social management, the acceleration of production and the stabilization of the standard of living of the people; on this basis, forces must be concentrated on developing the capabilities and potentials of one's locality or unit, resolving problems and recording new achievements, thereby making a practical contribution to moving the economy forward. Only by shedding light on these matters is it possible to heighten the spirit of revolutionary struggle of cadres and party members, strengthen their solidarity and unanimity, give them firm confidence in the correct leadership of the party and overcome all pessimism and doubt. The enemy is waging a psychological war, is constantly spewing counter-propaganda arguments and distorting the positions and policies of the party and state, especially economic positions and policies. We must promptly expose these clever arguments of the enemy and clearly explain to the masses what is correct and what is incorrect.

Together with the requirements mentioned above, ideological work must, as stated in the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum, give everyone a deep understanding of the socio-economic tasks and objectives for 1983 and the socio-economic guidelines for 1983-1985 as well as a firm grasp of the basic requirements and the viewpoints of the party concerning distribution-circulation, the division of economic management levels, the building of the district and the strengthening of the district level.

At present, the most pressing problem we face, the foremost concern of our party and state, is the standard of living of the people. All of the tasks, objectives, policies and measures set forth in the resolution of the party plenum are directed toward resolving this problem in the best possible manner.

We have but one way to overcome the difficulties we face, bring about a change in the situation and stabilize and gradually improve the standard of living of the people: to concentrate our efforts on accelerating production in every area and producing much wealth and many products for society, with special attention to accelerating agricultural production. Everyone must be made more clearly aware of the fact that "agriculture is the front of foremost important" and that our country's agriculture is highly capable of developing

in a comprehensive and diverse manner. It is necessary to launch a strong attack on the agricultural front, to insure that every force supports agricultural production better, determined to achieve the target of 17 million tons of grain for 1983 and the target of 19 million to 20 million tons of grain per year by 1985. At the same time, we must accelerate the production of consumer goods and export goods in an effort to achieve the objectives and requirements set forth within the resolution.

One very valuable lesson of profound significance learned by us in the 2 years 1981 and 1982 is the lesson of being self-reliant. During the past 2 years, by displaying the spirit of self-reliance, by taking the initiative and being creative, by not standing idly by in the face of difficulties, many localities and production installations throughout the country made progress and recorded very encouraging achievements in developing production and stabilizing the standard of living under extremely difficult conditions surrounding raw materials, supplies, energy and so forth. The lesson of practicing self-reliance must be very widely taught among cadres, party members and the masses; on this basis, we must deepen their confidence in the implementation of the Central Committees resolution and especially heighten their spirit of endeavoring to be self-reliant and their determination to move forward and record new achievements.

In order to accelerate production, it is necessary, in conjunction with teaching the spirit of self-reliance, to continue to encourage the correct implementation of the three economic interests (the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual worker). The realities of the past several years have proven that the smooth coordination of the three economic interests is an important force in mobilizing and raising the spirit of collective ownership of the laboring people and strongly stimulating the productive labor movement. We must criticize and overcome the tendency to pursue the immediate interests of the individual while giving little attention to the common, long-range interests of the country or vice versa.

Production is the base for stabilizing and improving the standard of living; however, to stabilize and improve the standard of living, we must also carry out distribution and circulation well. Distribution and circulation play a tremendous role in production and everyday life. In a situation in which difficulties are being encountered in production, as is the case now, it is even more necessary for us to concern ourselves with improving distribution and circulation. The struggle between socialism and capitalism is a decisive struggle in this field. Even within state-operated economic agencies, many incorrect practices are occurring on a widespread basis, especially "internal distribution," the failure to turn in cash, the failure to deliver all products to the state, taking advantage of loopholes, competing in purchases and sales and so forth. The struggle to establish the new order within distribution and circulation is raising many pressing problems that must be resolved. Ideological work must give everyone a clear understanding of and insure everyone's compliance with the positions and policies of the party and state regarding distribution and circulation. At the same time, importance must be attached to teaching party consciousness and the sense of organization and discipline in socio-economic activities, teaching the principle of

democratic centralism within the party and the state apparatus and upholding the discipline of the party and the laws of the state.

Along with giving everyone a thorough understanding of the resolution of the Central Committee, ideological work must also involve cultivating revolutionary qualities and a pure, wholesome style of life among cadres and party members. Of basic importance at this time is the need to insure, through educational activities, that everyone has a clear understanding of and a clear attitude toward the struggle between socialism and capitalism in the period of transition, firmly adheres to the stand of the working class, develops a higher revolutionary will to fight and sets examples in implementing the state plan and complying with the positions and policies of the party and state, especially those regarding distribution-circulation, agricultural collectivization and the socialist transformation of private industry and commerce. At the same time, we must intensify the effort to teach cadres and party members about the socialist style of life, communist ideals and the communist philosophy of life and help them to develop the attitude of living a pure and wholesome life. We must encourage and praise bright examples of revolutionary qualities. We must struggle against, criticize and overcome anything that is unwholesome regarding the qualities and lifestyle of cadres and party members.

In order to help successfully implement the resolutions of the party, the militant nature of ideological work must be heightened. Rightist thinking in ideological work must be eliminated. Together with propagandizing and teaching the lines and policies of the party and state, we must struggle against and thoroughly criticize ideological mistakes, beginning with viewpoints and tendencies that are contrary to the ideological viewpoints of the party, and against pessimism and doubt. We must criticize mistakes, primarily manifestations of rightism in the struggle between socialism and capitalism and the sharp struggle against the counter-propaganda and psychological warfare activities of the enemy. At the same time, we must struggle against and strongly criticize ethics and lifestyles that are not wholesome and against phenomena that violate the positions and policies of the party and the laws of the state. Ideological measures must be closely coordinated with organizational measures. "We must expel from the various party committee echelons and from the party cadres and party members who intentionally fail to comply with policies, fail to implement the resolutions of the party and fail to obey the laws of the state; we must properly punish those who engage in misappropriation, theft, smuggling, conspiracy, bribery...from within the party to the agencies of the state and the mass organizations, from the state-operated and collective economies to society."(1)

Along with heightening its militancy, ideological work must make a positive contribution to improving the ability of cadres and party members to take action and their ability to perform practical organizational work. The various agencies that conduct propaganda and educational activities, especially the mass media, must go into the districts, cooperatives, factories, stores and so forth to discover and present to everyone good experiences in production and in organizing the lives of the people; they must present reviews of advanced model units, develop broad mass movements based on

these model units and create a new strength for the economy and social life. We must criticize the practice of operating without calculating economic returns, without giving attention to improving the work that we perform and the habit of being conservative and backward. Importance must be attached to disseminating the good experiences of the agencies that manage and regulate the economy and manage society.

The mass media must establish programs and plans for propagandizing and encouraging the entire party, the people and the army to implement the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum. Their efforts must focus on important themes while routinely providing information on and encouraging the productive labor emulation movement. The most important objectives of the mass movement in productive labor at this time are to raise productivity and economic efficiency and practice frugality.

The agencies engaged in ideological work play a very important role in the implementation of party resolutions. However, ideological work is work of the entire party, with the main responsibility for it lying with the various party committee echelons. They must regularly concern themselves with ideological work, assess the thinking of cadres, party members and the masses and promptly set forth requirements and effective propaganda and educational slogans with a view toward fulfilling the socio-economic tasks and objectives of their sector, locality or unit as best possible. The practice of leaving ideological work up to the propaganda and training agencies must be corrected.

At present, the important measure of decisive significance is for the various party committee echelons to incorporate the contents of the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum in their work programs so that the resolution of the Central Committee truly becomes the agenda of action of each sector, each locality and each basic unit.

The measurement of the effectiveness of ideological work is the productive labor emulation movement of the masses. Every propaganda and educational activity must be designed to bring about a strong change in will and action, create an intense and vibrant revolutionary atmosphere, repulse negative phenomena and build determination to emulate in meeting and exceeding the quotas of the 1983 state plan and successfully implement the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

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## IMPROVING THE DIVISION OF ECHELONS IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 6-22, 70

[Article by To Huu]

[Text] The recent 3rd Party Plenum reached a decision concerning a very important matter of major contemporary significance, that is, to improve the division of echelons in economic management.

In keeping with the resolutions of the 6th Plenum of the 4th Party Central Committee, resolution number 26 of the Political Bureau and the resolution of the recent 5th Party Congress on improving economic management, our party and state have promulgated many new policies designed to remove the restrictions posed by the old management mechanism characterized by administrativism, subsidization and bureaucratic centralism with a view toward tapping the initiative of the localities and installations in developing production and providing incentive to manual workers and farmers to take positive steps to raise their labor productivity and improve the quality of their products.

Over the past 2 years and more, these policies have had a major impact, have "created a new, vital force in productive labor, one that has led to new and very significant changes in the national economy. These changes, although only initial ones, are very important and have opened new prospects for stabilizing and developing the economy and society."(1) Agricultural production, industrial production and circulation-distribution activities are developing at a rather high rate. The most important effects are that the new policies have created many new factors; strongly developed the initiative, creativity and self-reliance of cadres, manual workers and farmers; stimulated specialization and the broadening of cooperation and coordination within the economy under many different forms; taken one step toward developing the role played by science and technology as a direct production force; begun to reduce the scope of management by administrative methods and subsidization; begun to emphasize the principles of cost accounting; caused laborers to voluntarily concern themselves with the standards governing productivity, quality and efficiency; and made providing leadership and guidance by means of economic levers the main work method. These organizational and management effects, which are of very basic significance, will play a larger and long-range role in the years ahead. However, the improvement of management has not been

carried out in a well coordinated manner and has not fully removed the heavy restrictions imposed by the old management mechanism; and, in the course of their implementation, the initial measures that have been taken to improve management have given rise to a number of new shortcomings and deviations. For this reason, the situation demands that we develop upon the results that have been achieved and improve the management of the economy in a stronger, more correct and more systematic fashion.

#### I. The Objective Need To Establish a Division of Responsibilities and Echelons in Economic Management

The improvement of economic management is a matter of extremely important significance at this time. For many years, production has been stagnated, national income has not risen and labor productivity has been declining; all of these factors are having a serious impact upon everyday life and the accumulation of capital. The economic returns from production and business are not commensurate with existing material-technical bases. On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly obvious that our economic potentials are diverse and real. The circumstances of the initial stage of the period of transition are such that small-scale production still predominates and the conditions for local economic development vary widely from place to place but the localities and installations have not been given full independence to organize their production and carry out economic management. The problem we face is that we must create suitable conditions and forms of organization for closely coordinating the basic material factors of production: labor, arable land, equipment, supplies, resources and so forth and mobilize every production force of society in order to develop production. It was on the basis of this objective need that our party long ago raised the matter of establishing a mechanism for implementing the system of collective ownership on all three levels: the central level, the local level and the basic level.

The primary objective of this latest effort to establish a division of responsibilities and echelons is to define a mechanism for the sectors, localities and production-business installations to exercise their right of collective ownership. In this way, we seek to heighten the spirit of responsibility, raise the level of dynamism and creativity, heighten the concern for the productivity of labor and equipment, for product quality and economic efficiency and, on this basis, bring about a new change and create a new force in the economy and social life.

Today, the need to improve economic management is evident in every aspect of the management mechanism, consequently, the need to establish a division of responsibilities and echelons is faced in every field: establishing the structure of the economy, organizing production, planning, the application of economic levers and the organizing of the apparatus and cadres.

The structure of the economy is a matter of foremost significance in economic management. Only by determining the economic structure of the national economy, of each sector, locality and installation is it possible to adopt correct investment guidelines, possible for production to develop in a stable manner and achieve high economic efficiency. In view of the present situation, defining the structure of the economy is a major problem. The

failure to define the structure of the economy has been the main reason why, in our economic construction in past years, the returns from production and business have been low, labor productivity has been low and national income has not risen despite larger investments of money and manpower. Within each installation, the failure to adopt correct production guidelines has also been a cause of prolonged operational losses, the loss of capital, the waste of natural resources and the prolongation of the difficulties faced in the lives of the laboring people.

How to arrange the structure of the economy is a matter of a scientific nature; it involves smoothly coordinating natural factors with the economy, the economy with technology and society, immediate requirements with long-range requirements and so forth. This work will yield large returns if it is carried out on the basis of fully upholding the right of collective ownership of the various management levels and the production and business installations, that is, if a reasonable division of responsibilities and echelons is established, economic potentials will be discovered and strongly developed.

An efficient economic structure is also the foundation for improving the organization of production. In the present process of stimulating the development of the economy, coordinating agriculture with industry, coordinating production with circulation-distribution, unifying the various segments of the economy, defining technical standards, defining the different scales of production, establishing a division of labor along specialized lines and so forth are increasingly becoming pressing and basic issues in the organizing of production and management. Moreover, cooperation among many different sectors, many different segments of the economy and many different levels of technology is occurring throughout the territories of the various localities. These facts raise the pressing need to establish a reasonable division of responsibilities and echelons between the central and local levels with a view toward eliminating the unreasonable constraints posed by the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and creating the widest possible favorable conditions for economic activities to develop at a rapid rate and achieve high returns.

In terms of how production is organized, the management mechanism characterized by bureaucratic centralism, administrative procedures and subsidization has many major drawbacks.

The central sectors have not carried out the planning of their entire sectors from the central to the basic levels, consequently, in many cases, the operations of the sectors and the localities are contradictory and cause duplication that results in a very serious waste of equipment, materials, labor and money. Due to their failure to fulfill their function of providing sector-wide economic and technical management and their inclination toward conducting production and business operations as an economic unit, many sectors are not clearly aware of the fact that a part, even a large part, of their strong development occurs on the local level.

The localities fail to realize that their strengths, in addition to their arable land, labor and material bases, also lie in the economic-technical

installations of the central sectors that operate within the locality. These provide good conditions for achieving a division of labor and cooperation for the purpose of raising the level of specialization in production and, on this basis, raising the productivity of labor and utilizing the other production conditions in the most efficient manner possible. As a result, in many localities, economic activities are highly subsistent in nature, economic returns are low and technology develops slowly. It is a rather universal practice on the part of localities to neglect their role of providing state management within their territories.

The above mentioned incorrect tendencies in economic development have caused the activities of the sectors and localities to be separated from one another and even to impede one another; it is impossible for these activities to display the superior, special characteristics of large-scale socialist production, namely, cooperation and specialization in production. At present, our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the economy still consists of many different segments, the level of technology varies widely from one production installation to the next and the scale of production of many installations is still small. Besides the large-scale state-operated production installations that are equipped with modern technology, there are small-scale state-operated, collective and private installations that are equipped with rudimentary equipment and still employ manual technology.

Due to the tendencies mentioned above, the various segments of the economy and the different levels of technology have not been closely coordinated nor has a reasonable division of labor based on specialization been established, consequently, the results from production have been limited and we have not been able to develop the role played by the state-operated economy, by modern technology in guiding and taking the lead in the transformation of the production relations and technical bases of the economy.

Planning, the central management tool of a socialist economy, has not fulfilled its role of providing guidance nor has it developed the initiative and creativity of the sectors, localities and installations in production and business. Balances, which are the fundamental aspect of plans, are based on the centralized supply of materials by the central level and foreign countries and ignore the diverse sources of materials that can be created domestically. In addition, planning methods are rigid, plans are handed down from the top and little attention is given to tapping the initiative and creativity of the locality and installation, that is, to the principle of democracy. In view of the fact that small-scale production still predominates within the economy, sources of materials are very widely scattered and many production sectors are still dependent upon natural conditions; however, our management is too highly centralized, consequently, plans are also very subjective in nature, lack a basis in reality and, as a result, are neither positive nor dependable.

By the same token, the various policies concerning economic levers, which were adopted several decades ago and have been revised slowly, have shown themselves to no longer be suited to the actual situation, which has undergone numerous major changes. These policies do not give full attention to the objective socio-economic conditions of the localities, conditions which

reflect many different special characteristics, and do not provide necessary latitude for their flexible application by localities. Because economic conditions have undergone many changes and the rigid requirements of old policies no longer have the effect of levers, the localities have taken it upon themselves to adopt many different forms of application of these policies in market management, prices, exports and imports, the distribution of wages, bonuses and so forth, thereby causing many complex problems in economic management and the attitudes of society.

The organization of the management apparatus is cumbersome and involves too many centers, too many intermediary levels. In recent years, this situation has become even more serious, thereby causing our already inefficient management to become even more so. Bureaucratic, administrative management is evident on all levels, from the central to the basic levels, consequently, the role played by management in guiding and supporting production and management does not meet the requirements of the economy. Although we have revised our policies (albeit not completely), we have failed to promptly improve the organization of the management apparatus, consequently, economic activities have not changed as required; this shortcoming has reduced the positive impact of the new policies.

From the facts presented above, one general conclusion can be reached, namely, that our economy still lacks a division of labor and cooperation in breadth as well as depth, therefore, the returns from economic activities are very low and our potentials, although many, cannot be developed. Although the system of socialist ownership has been established, that is to say, although the foundation has been laid for unifying the objectives and interests involved in the economic activities of the various sectors and localities, in actuality, these activities frequently conflict and contradict with one another. This is because the mode of management is still heavily influenced by the management mechanism of small-scale production. The superior, special characteristics of large-scale production are cooperation and specialization. Therefore, together with providing incentive for laborers and installations to produce with enthusiasm, we must organize cooperation and a division of labor on a society-wide scale, that is, must establish a reasonable division of responsibilities and echelons within the organization of production and economic management throughout the national economy, starting with between the central level and the local level.

Within the field of economic management, in addition to the problems mentioned above, there are also many other areas in which changes must be made in order to establish a new, well coordinated and complete management mechanism. However, as we improve the division of responsibilities and echelons between the central and local levels and bring about new changes in production and business, the actual situation will reveal the precise, objective foundations upon which a scientific management mechanization can be established along with suitable modes of organization and management in order to achieve the highest possible economic returns. Nothing assists us more in our effort to research a plan for improving our organization and management better than the realities of everyday life. The new management policies that have had a major economic impact, such as the product contract policy within agriculture, the piecework wage and bonus policy, the policy on increasing the independence in planning

and the financial autonomy of industrial enterprises, the policy linking science and production and so forth, that were promulgated in recent years have been the result of reviewing actual experiences on a scientific basis. This policy on establishing a division of responsibilities and echelons also addresses a problem being faced in everyday life and also represents an initial conclusion drawn from the creative experiences of many localities and installations.

## II. Several Major Viewpoints that Must Be Thoroughly Understood

The division of management responsibilities and echelons is a very large matter. Doing it correctly and in a manner that yields high returns requires a full comprehension of the fundamental principles of economic management, that is, the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of coordinating management by sector with management by territory.

As we take the first step toward removing the restraints imposed by bureaucratic centralism, economic realities are causing many complex problems to arise in the relationship between the central and local levels, that is, between centralism and democracy, between the sector and the territory.

Therefore, we must first gain a deep understanding of the basic viewpoint that the national economy is a unified and indivisible entity. The development of each economic and technical sector and each territory lies within the unified planning of the entire country. The fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of planned and balanced economic development demand that the development of all sectors and areas of the country be balanced within the state plan. This is a requirement of socialism as well as an objective requirement, a realistic possibility. The fundamental superior aspect of socialism is the system of socialist ownership; it is this system of ownership that creates the oneness of objectives and interests within the mode of production and is the base for organizing production and business in a planned manner and providing unified leadership of every economic activity.

The principle of democratic centralism is the main, distinctive principle of socialist management and occupies the central position in the theory of social management, in general, and economic management, in particular. The socialist economy can only develop strongly when it closely coordinates centralized leadership by the central level with innovations by the masses and coordinates science and technology with the creative labor of the mass of manual workers, farmers and so forth.

Lenin said: "It is our task to implement the principle of democratic centralism within the economic field, thereby insuring the absolute coordination and unity of the activities of such economic sectors as the railroad, the post-telegraph sector, the other transportation sectors and so forth, and, at the same time, establish the system of centralism, which is to be understood as true democracy and which encompasses the capability--a capability that has been created by history for the first time--to fully and freely develop upon not only the special characteristics of the locality, but also the innovations of the locality, the initiative of the locality, the varied nature of the localities and the varied nature of the methods and means

for achieving our common goal"(Lenin: "Complete Works," Volume 36, pp 186-1977). Lenin also clearly stated: "We are advocates of democratic centralism. However, it must be clearly understood that democratic centralism, on the one hand, is truly far different from bureaucratic centralism and, on the other hand, truly far different from anarchy."(Lenin: "Complete Works," Volume 36, p 185).

The process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, centralized production is an objective necessity because it is directly related to the objective economic law concerning the centralization of production. As the social production force develops and the division of labor and cooperation in labor become more complete, the centralization of management assumes increasing importance. The centralization and unification of management are based on many requirements, such as maintaining the major balances of importance to the entire national economy, insuring the uniform development of the various economic sectors and territories and organizing cooperation on a nationwide scale in order to achieve the highest possible overall returns.

The system of socialist ownership, which represents the unification of objectives and interests in the economic activities of society, has made it possible to achieve the highest possible level of unified management. This superior system has also laid the basis for gaining the participation of the localities, installations and laboring masses in economic activities, that is, laid the objective foundation for broadening the practice of democracy in a manner closely linked to increasing the degree of centralization. Therefore, it is truly a mistake to separate centralism from democracy or set one against the other.

Coordinating management by sector with management by territory is a management principle that is directly related to the principle of democratic centralism in management and is also a matter of an objective nature. Management by sector can only yield high returns if it is properly coordinated with management by territory (the province and district). Each and every production enterprise is part of an economic-technical sector and is located within a specific territory. Only by closely coordinating the sector and the territory can the enterprise be insured of all the material conditions it needs: equipment, technology, raw materials, labor, resources, the infrastructure, services and so forth. Conversely, if close coordination is not established, the enterprise cannot operate smoothly, a lack of balance occurs in production and the development of production forces is stagnated. Today, with the strong development of production forces, economic activities are still restricted even if ideal management by sector is provided because management by sector cannot resolve problems related to many different sectors; this can only be resolved by coordinating it with management by territory. As production becomes more highly specialized, the relations among sectors assume increasing importance; therefore, the role played by management by territory becomes increasingly necessary. Moreover, the coordination of sector and territory also has the objective of uniformly raising the standard of living of the people and the prosperity of each area of the country; this

is also an objective requirement of the fundamental economic law of socialism and the law of the planned and balanced development of the economy, in general.

For a long time, due to numerous shortcomings in management and the lack of satisfactory policies to insure the harmony of economic interests among the central, local and basic levels, the division of management responsibilities and echelons has become a matter of "dividing the ownership" of instruments of production, of products and income from production, which is contrary to the reasonable requirement of clearly defining the responsibility and authority of the various levels in production and business with a view toward achieving the highest possible economic returns. This incorrect outlook has given rise to many artificial antagonisms in the relationship between the sector and the locality, such as "struggling" to reduce production obligations and the percentage of profits that must be submitted to the central level and competing with one another for raw materials and supplies for production; worse yet, the sectors have become lax with regard to their function of providing sector-wide guidance and have, instead, focused their efforts on only guiding a number of directly subordinate enterprises, thereby unintentionally turning the sector into a type of economic organization and abandoning the role of providing sector-wide economic-technical management; the localities have also focused on the economic activities of the locality and become lax with regard to their function of providing state management within the territory.

To establish a good division of responsibilities and echelons within economic management, it is necessary to firmly adhere to the basic guidelines of strongly developing the planning independence and broadening the financial autonomy of the locality while strengthening the centralized, unified management provided by the central level. These are the dual requirements faced in the present improvement of economic management. The objective situation urgently demands that we remove the restraints that exist and develop the production and business independence of the localities and installations; at the same time, it also demands that we guarantee centralized, unified leadership by the central level and unify every economic activity in accordance with the line and policies of the party and the laws of the state.

The economic potentials of our country in all localities are very rich. In agriculture, forestry and fishing present yields are very low and there is still very much that can be done by way of multi-cropping and intensive cultivation, not to mention the possibility of developing or expanding production on tens of millions of other hectares. With the advances that have been made with material bases, supplies, equipment, science and technology as well as the new production relations, these production potentials are very large. Within industry, only 40 to 50 percent of machine and equipment capacity is being utilized. Labor, including technically skilled labor, is abundant. At present, it is clear that the results of production are not commensurate with the production forces that we have created; if we reorganize production and improve management correctly, the returns from production will surely be increased. Recently, we have promulgated numerous policies designed to remove the restraints imposed by

bureaucratic centralism and stimulate the development of production and business. However, these represent only an initial step toward this end; we must continue to adopt new, fuller and more specific measures in order to create the most favorable objective conditions possible for production and business to develop at a rapid rate.

In view of the facts that small-scale, decentralized production still predominates within our country's economy, production has not been highly centralized or specialized, production relations have not been uniformly developed and the characteristics of the social situation differ from one area to another, it is even more necessary that we attach special importance to developing the independence of the locality and the installation in order to develop production potentials well. Under these circumstances, centralizing production and management in production units that are too large as well as giving too much management authority to the central level and not enough flexibility to the locality are usually not productive and sometimes even cause major harm.

In recent years, due to the failure to clearly recognize these actual socio-economic conditions, the management mechanism became a mechanism characterized mainly by bureaucratic centralism. Under this mechanism, the various management echelons have intervened far more than necessary in the professional methods of production and business installations, have "tied the hands" of the installation and the lower levels to some extent and have made them become passive, made it impossible for them to develop their economic potentials. This situation has still not been thoroughly eliminated. Recently, however, another situation has developed. In the process of implementing the new management policies in order to develop the independence of the installations and localities, the deviations of localism, departmentalism, liberalism and anarchy have arisen, thereby disrupting the relations between sectors and localities and the relations among localities and causing serious harm to the national economy and the interests of many localities and sectors. This situation must be rapidly overcome. We must restore socialist order to the economic front, especially in the field of distribution and circulation, in order to uphold the central level's right to provide unified leadership while developing the independence of the locality.

In summary, appropriate importance must be attached to both centralism and democracy. This is an objective requirement. The principle of democratic centralism is a unified entity. It is incorrect to merely recognize or emphasize one aspect of this principle. The important matter in economic management is to establish an appropriate balance and form for correctly coordinating centralism and democracy in each specific case. This is the science as well as the art of management.

The purpose of improving the division of responsibilities and echelons in the organization of production and in economic management is to strengthen cooperation and specialization in order to develop upon economic and technical strengths, develop the potentials of each sector and each level and stimulate the development of production under the most favorable conditions possible in order to achieve the highest possible economic returns. Due to not fully

understanding this basic objective, incorrect attitudes and actions have resulted: the measures taken to strengthen the responsibility and authority of the locality and installation have been considered "decentralization" that weakens the centralized leadership provided by the central level or the steps taken to strengthen the unified, centralized leadership of the central level have been viewed as a return to bureaucratic centralism.

It must be clearly understood that the present effort to establish a division of economic management echelons essentially involves reorganizing the division of labor and cooperation within production and business between the sectors and localities; it is not at all a matter of "dividing the ownership" of instruments of production, products that are produced and so forth. The work of establishing this division of echelons must be performed in all areas of the management of production and business: defining the structure of the economy, organizing planned production, utilizing the various economic levers and organizing the management apparatus. Here, we should not confuse the improvement of the division of management echelons with the improvement of economic management itself; this is a large and multi-faceted issue that we are studying in order to gradually make improvements in the years ahead.

To begin with, we must establish a division of echelons when defining the economic structure of each locality, province, municipality and district. The production conditions of our country are plentiful. Because the level of development of production forces is still low, the economy is still at the level of small-scale production; however, the potentials that the localities have for developing production are numerous and very diverse but they are also very decentralized. For this reason, developing the initiative and creativity of the locality is of major economic significance. The special characteristics and the potentials of the localities will not be fully developed if we merely centralize the organizing and the guidance of production on the central level. Because of bureaucratic centralism in management, the localities have long failed to truly take the initiative in establishing their own economic structures. As a result, many large potentials, even potentials of important significance to the entire national economy, that lie within the grasp of the locality have not been developed well; these potentials include the ability to raise shrimp in bodies of water measuring tens of thousands of hectares, the cultivation of soybeans, jute and sugarcane on hundreds of thousands of hectares in the localities of the Mekong River Delta, the cultivation of coconuts, peanuts and "dao lon hot" in sandy coastal areas, the cultivation of rubber and coffee in eastern Nam Bo and the Central Highlands, the cultivation of tea, lacquer and anise in the midlands and mountains of the North, etc. Conversely, there have been numerous cases in which the failure to establish a correct economic structure (that is, correct production guidelines) has led to negative consequences: small returns from production, losses of capital and the deterioration of material-technical bases. It can be said that every area of arable land and every climatic area in our country possesses strengths in various species of crops and livestock, the economic value of which can be high if correct production guidelines are established. One of our major shortcomings in recent years has been the failure to establish correct economic structures in the various localities, which has been one of the important reasons for the stagnation in

production. This shortcoming is due to many reasons, including the failure to establish a correct division of economic management echelons.

To correct this shortcoming, the central level will focus its efforts on establishing the economic structure for the entire country, that is, establishing guidelines for the development of the economic sectors in a reasonable manner consistent with domestic production requirements and conditions and international conditions. On this basis, the development of the economic-technical sectors and the specialized production areas within the country will be planned. These plans will provide the basis for defining the economic structure and formulating the economic development plan of each locality.

Thus, the establishment of the overall economic structure of the entire country and the specific economic structure of each locality must be the result of establishing a correct division of echelons, that is, the result of a close division of labor and cooperation between the central level and the local level. Only in this way is it possible to fully develop every realistic potential.

Neither bureaucratic centralism nor decentralization lacking in organization can yield good results.

As regards the organization of production, a reasonable division of echelons must be established. This is a management measure of major economic significance in many respects. At present, our economy is not developing strongly; besides a number of modern material-technical bases, there are still very many rudimentary technical bases; besides a number of centralized, large-scale production installations, there are still very many medium and small-scale installations; and besides the national ownership sector, there is still a large collective production sector and even a sizable private production component. At present, these production installations with their different levels of technology, different scales of production and different social makeup are operating as separate, independent entities, consequently, they cannot support one another in order to stimulate the development of production. This situation does not provide favorable conditions for developing the role played by advanced economic and technical forces. Therefore, the most important problem we face at this time concerning the organization of production is that of establishing a specialized division of labor and organizing relations of economic association. The organizing of a relationship of economic association among the various elements of production forces can be considered an extremely important base for improving the management measures employed in the relations among sectors and between the sector and the territory. A relationship of association will create additional favorable conditions for raising the level of specialization in production and organizing the production process in the most efficient manner possible. Joint-sector relationships, primarily between agriculture and industry, will be improved and science and production will be closely coordinated, even within the scope of the localities. It can be said that many problems that once had to be resolved on the central (sector) level will become matters that are resolved within the internal cooperative relations within the locality. As a result, the number of units that must be led and

guided by the central level will decline and the planned nature of production will be heightened. The management of production and business will, therefore, undergo a substantive change, a change that will truly abolish bureaucratic centralism and lead to economic activities that are based on the principle of democratic centralism and the principle of coordinating management by sector and management by locality and territory.

The economic returns from the establishment of relations of economic association among different levels of technology, different scales of production and the different segments of the economy will be very large. When associated with one another in an efficient manner, the various types of production installations will support one another, stimulate the development of one another's production, raise labor productivity and reduce production costs.

In these relations of economic association, modern technology and the socialist production relations, primarily state-operated enterprises, will play a strong leadership role and gradually bring the other segments of the economy with their small-scale production and manual technologies into the orb of large-scale socialist production in the most natural and rapid manner possible.

In establishing these relations of economic association, not only do the economic-technical sectors play a decisive role, but the localities also have a very important responsibility as regards their role as a level that manages a territory.

Together with organizing economic association, the central levels also share responsibility with the localities for organizing specialized production and business installations within the locality. The growth of the sector not only takes the form of large-scale production installations that are directly managed by the sector, but also takes the forms of production installations of the local economy. In view of their function of providing economic and technical management for specialized sectors, the sectors have a major responsibility to the local economy; this responsibility has been codified in various decisions by the state concerning the function and tasks of the sectors. The development of the sector economy within the locality is also a standard for evaluating the achievements of the central sectors. To insure that the management responsibility of the sector is fulfilled, in addition to the administrative regulations of the state, we will research reasonable economic regulations.

The improvement of planning: the most basic objective of the effort to improve planning is to develop the collective ownership role of the sectors and levels, especially of the basic level, in formulating and defending as well as managing the implementation of their plans. The basic principle of socialist economic management is the coordination of centralism and democracy; in actuality, however, we have, for a long time, placed heavy emphasis upon centralism while giving little attention to democracy. Plans have usually been handed down from the top, even from the state planning agencies, and importance has not been attached to the initiative and innovations of the installations, the localities and the economic-technical sectors. For this

reason, plans have been very subjective and bureaucratic. We must take determined steps to formulate plans by the "two-way" method: the central level establishes guidelines and the main balances concerning the supplies provided to the locality (materials, goods, capital and so forth) and the locality or installation formulates its plan and reports it to the central level. On this basis, the central level formulates the official plan and assigns legal norms to the sectors, localities and installations and, in the end, the sectors, levels and installations formulate the plans to be implemented.

The above mentioned process of formulating plans represents a major substantive change in method and form: it develops the initiative of the sectors, levels and installations and implements the right of collective ownership of these sectors and levels as regards the central management tool of the socialist economy. We must be fully aware of the important significance of this substantive change in planning. The system of collective ownership is an important moving; therefore, the above mentioned improvements to planning will be of tremendous significance, will stimulate the development of economic potentials, accelerate production and business and accelerate economic, cultural and social development, in general. In this improvement to planning, special importance must be attached to the district level, the federations of enterprises and the federated enterprises. These are planning levels of very basic significance because they directly deal with economic potentials in order to develop their production and business and are the places that organize the masses in fulfilling their role of exercising collective mastery of the economy, organize the division of labor and cooperation within each area and directly and effectively establish joint sector relations. They are also the management levels that are able to coordinate the requirements of the national economy with actual conditions well in view of the facts that the provincial level is limited in what it can do in many areas by conditions beyond its control and the village level is too small and weak.

Along with improving the method of planning, we must establish a new system of material balances. The balance is the main element of the plan, consequently, the establishment of a new system of material balances will be of important, decisive significance in the improvement of planning.

We must overcome the old method of operating of simply basing plans on the available supply of materials and handing plans down from the central level; because supply sources have not been stable, the scale of production and business has increased or decreased depending upon the supply sources of the central level. Now, the basic guideline for balancing the various material conditions needed for production and business is to strongly develop the independence of the installations, localities and sectors that is created by the system of collective ownership. The material bases for establishing positive balances must be the following four sources: capabilities within the locality, sector and installation; the capabilities of the upper level; the capabilities resulting from cooperation and association with other sectors, localities and installations; and the capabilities resulting from trade with foreign countries through exports-imports. Because of the objective conditions that exist during the period of transition, especially during the

present initial stage, the ability of the central level to provide capital, supplies, raw materials and so forth to the sectors, localities and installations is very greatly limited. Therefore, developing internal capabilities and capabilities that result from cooperation with the outside and from exports-imports is of very positive significance; it will provide a large supplemental source of materials. By establishing a balance based on four sources, the base will exist for production and business to take greater initiative and strongly develop the economies of each sector, locality and installation in order to achieve specialization in production. Without the new understanding of the conditions to be used to establish a material balance described above, planning will encounter obstacles, potentials will not be developed and production and business will not be developed. This is a new matter, one that is of profound practical significance and is scientifically based. In the recent past, some localities, installations and sectors have achieved a rather high rate of economic development precisely because they thoroughly understand and have properly applied this new thinking.

In order to create the conditions for strongly developing the independence of the sectors, localities and installations in planning, the central level will henceforth reduce the scope of the system of legal norms assigned to the provinces and districts to the following five norms:

--The total value and the volume of the primary products and goods delivered by the locality to the central level (within agriculture, this will also include taxes and purchases products) and the total value and the volume of primary goods supplied by the central level to the locality;

--Investments in capital construction provided by the central level to the locality and the key projects of the locality;

--The total amount of local labor sent from the locality and the total number of technical workers and cadres sent to the locality by the central level;

--The main norms and balances regarding the standard of living of the population within the territory (with no distinctions made as to whether the cadres and manual workers at installations are managed directly by the central level or the locality).

--The total revenues and expenditures of the local budget.

The above are five legal norms. In addition, the plan might include a number of other norms but they will be in the form of directed norms.

Reducing the scope of the system of legal norms as mentioned above will be of important significance in providing the locality with greater independence in arranging its economic structure in such a way as to develop local strengths, develop production potentials and, on this basis, achieve a higher rate of economic development. Through this improvement, the locality will be able to fulfill its obligations to the central level and will have realistic conditions for strongly developing the local economy. The above mentioned system of legal norms will also insure that the central level firmly controls the most basic balances of the national economy.

Improving the method by which plans are formulated, establishing a new system of material balances and reducing the size of the system of legal norms, these are improvements of a fundamental nature to planning. Through these improvements, centralized management will be maintained and the practice of democracy will be strongly expanded; the principle of coordinating centralized management with democracy will be implemented under a suitable form that yields practical returns.

Applying the various economic levers: together with improving planning, we must improve the application of the other economic levers. Today, the realities of economic management raise two important problems: establishing uniform economic policies throughout the country and defining a suitable scope for the flexible application of economic levers based on the special characteristics of the locality.

On the basis of the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism, economic management must be closely linked to the performance of the basic political tasks of the country. Therefore, economic policies must be uniform throughout the country. The Party Central Committee and the government are the only levels that promulgate policies. If this principle is not thoroughly implemented, it will give rise to a tendency to attach more importance to the partial interests of the locality and give light attention to the interests of the entire nation, even to the point of using capital, technical supplies and so forth of the entire country for projects of the local economy in a manner not based on principle. This deviation has begun to be seen at some places and must be promptly overcome.

However, reality has also raised the need to create the conditions for the locality to display a high degree of dynamism and creativity in order to develop its economy and flexibly apply the positions and policies of the central level in a manner suited to the special conditions of the locality. The scientific nature of management lies in providing management on the basis of having a deep understanding of the essence of economic laws as well as the special conditions underlying the application of these laws in practice. If attention is not given to these requirements in order to assign responsibilities to the locality, the effect that policies have in providing incentive and guidance will be lost, that is, their effect as economic levers will be lost. For a long time, because of bureaucratic centralism in management, appropriate attention has not been given to the need to provide incentive to localities and take the special conditions of the locality into consideration. This is the main cause of the stagnation of the local economy as well as the "tearing down of fences" that we see occurring at some places.

In order to create the conditions for strengthening the centralized management provided by the central level while strongly developing the independence of the locality, it is necessary to establish a division of echelons for the management of all economic levers.

Assigning the locality responsibility for managing finances and the budget are a matter of key significance. Finances and the budget are one of the main tools used to develop independence in the development of the local economy. We must create the conditions for the locality, including the district, to

balance its budget and must provide incentive for the locality to increase its sources of revenue in order to develop its economy on an increasingly large scale. The state will enact policies to stabilize the percentage of revenue taken from the various sources for the local budget; stabilize the expenditure approval system; establish regulations on the payment of some percentage of profits and revenue of central and local enterprises for inclusion in the central and local budgets and keep this percentage at the same level for a number of years; improve the tax policy and allocate an appropriate percentage of taxes for the local budget; and provide incentive for the locality to deliver products to the central level in the form of revenue added to the local budget and being allowed to use its budget surplus at the end of the year to supplement its reserve fund and use the money for welfare or economic construction purposes. Localities that are encountering difficulties will only receive economic construction investment subsidies from the central level and will not have their expenditures routinely subsidized, except in the case of foreign currency.

The bank is a unified, nationwide system and the responsibility for managing it cannot be divided into echelons. The locality must fully comply with banking management regulations and does not have the right to put more money into circulation or grant credit. The locality (province) has the responsibility and the authority to inspect and supervise the activities of the branch banks and promote the establishment and the strengthening of credit cooperatives to support production and struggle to abolish high interest loans.

At present, prices are also an important management tool. The state will promulgate price management regulations and clearly define the division of responsibilities and echelons between the central level and the local level. The general spirit of new management policy is that the state will set price standards for primary products and the locality will have the authority to set specific prices within the locality based on the guidance provided by the central level. The locality will have the authority to set the prices of products produced within the locality that are not on the list of products managed solely by the central level. Together with strengthening financial discipline, we must strengthen price discipline and prohibit arbitrary pricing, especially of products that are managed exclusively by the central level.

In conjunction with finances, the state will create the conditions for the locality to take the initiative regarding supplies. We must organize an efficient division of responsibilities between the central and local levels concerning supplies in order to eliminate all duplication and competently support production. The management of basic materials, such as petroleum products, iron, steel, fertilizer and other important technical materials, must be unified on a nationwide basis but the supply network itself must be organized on a regional basis consistent with production requirements. The localities will have their own supply corporations to develop sources of supplies within the province, provide supplies to the districts and consumers and, at the same time, serve as agents representing the central level within the territory.

As regards home trade, the central level is responsible for guiding the localities in formulating plans for the development of commerce and formulating business regulations and policies. The localities have the responsibility and the authority to manage the commerce plan and manage the commodity funds of the locality and the business organizations within it. We must reorganize the system of business corporations along the following lines: the level I corporations must control the sources of goods and long distance transactions while the level II corporations do business (both buy and sell) within the scope of the province and the district commerce corporations do business within the scope of the district and serve as agents of the central and provincial levels in the purchase of agricultural and forestry products and the sale of industrial goods under two-way contracts. The locality, that is, the province and district, has the responsibility of managing the market within the locality and widely organizing a socialist commerce network encompassing both state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives.

At present, grain is the key, basic element in economic development; therefore, the central level alone manages the plan for the purchasing and distribution of grain and the grain reserves of the state. The locality is responsible for developing production and adopting a plan for meeting its own need for grain on the basis of directly producing grain or trading with other places while insuring that the obligation to deliver products to the state is met. A grain fund must be established for the district in order to create the material conditions needed for it to take the initiative in developing the economy.

As regards foreign trade, the export-import business is the extremely important task. The state has adopted general policies concerning foreign trade and provided strong incentive for localities to export products. The central level as well as the locality must adopt plans for investing in the production of export goods so that the initiative can be taken in foreign trade, so that foreign trade develops at a rapid rate and yields higher business returns. We must build the export-import business organizations of the provinces and districts in order to develop local economic potentials and support the task of accelerating our exports. As regards organization, we should, generally speaking, organize joint businesses with the corporations of the central level; those provinces that have large economic capabilities can export goods directly. The Ministry of Foreign Trade is responsible for unifying the management of exports and imports on a nationwide scale, guiding and helping the localities develop their businesses and managing the customs organizations in order to effectively struggle against smuggling and other violations of the law.

We must develop the tourism system while assigning responsibilities to the provinces for laying the groundwork for the strong and steady development of this industry.

As regards labor, the state will promulgate a new labor policy designed to make full use of social labor in order to develop production and help to overcome the negative phenomena within society. The state will clearly define the authority of the various local levels with regard to utilizing these sources of labor in economic construction and will assign to the localities

the responsibility of organizing trade training to insure that every laborer receives occupational training. Generally speaking, the locality is responsible for formulating the labor plan, closely linking it to the socio-economic development plan and efficiently organizing the training, distribution and utilization of labor.

The central level exclusively manages the wage system throughout the country to insure a reasonable balance in terms of living standards among the various sectors and areas of the country. The localities are responsible for managing the implementation of the regulations and policies of the central level within the locality, including those that pertain to the enterprises of the central level. The state forbids localities to formulate separate policies of their own. On the basis of state regulations, the provinces determine the local wage rate for the services.

As regards science and technology, the localities are responsible for formulating the plan for the development of science and technology within the locality and must attach importance to applying the latest scientific and technological advances in production and everyday life while organizing weights and measures inspections, inspections of standards and product quality control inspections as required by the central level, organizing the effective use of the force of scientific and technical cadres, implementing the policy of the central level on closely linking science to production through economic contracts and providing strong incentive for projects involving discoveries, inventions, technological improvements and the rationalization of production.

As regards the organizing of the management apparatus and cadres, we must, in a manner closely linked to improving the division of responsibilities and echelons in the establishment of the economic structure, organizing production and business, improving planning and applying the various economic levers, also establish a division of responsibilities and echelons concerning the organization of the apparatus and the management of cadres. Reorganizing the apparatus and cadre work is the basis for insuring the improvement of economic management, in general, and the division of responsibilities and echelons, in particular. This is an element, perhaps even the key element, of the management mechanism and is a very important practical matter at this time.

One important objective of reorganizing the management apparatus is to reduce the number of unnecessary intermediary levels so that the leadership provided by the party and state flows in an uninterrupted manner to the installations, districts, federations of enterprises and federated enterprises and creates the conditions for these levels to display a high degree of initiative and creativity in organizing and managing the economy.

Above everything else, it is necessary to reorganize and strengthen the production-business organizations, with special attention given to strengthening the basic units. We must gain experience from the organizing of federations of enterprises and federated enterprises, reorganize, strengthen and develop these units into highly efficient production-business organizations that have favorable management conditions and strengthen the planned nature of their economic activities. We must strengthen the national federations of enterprises in those sectors that have the necessary conditions

and requirements, such as civil aviation, the railroad sector, ocean shipping and so forth, and assign to these organizations the function of managing their entire sector. In cases in which objective difficulties are encountered and there is no need for cooperation in production on a nationwide scale, it is necessary to organize regional federations of enterprises or federated enterprises. In the process of reorganizing production, it might be necessary to adjust the division of management responsibilities between the sectors and localities regarding a number of enterprises for which management responsibilities have not been properly assigned.

It is necessary to reorganize the state management system from the central to the local levels along the lines of streamlining the apparatus, reducing the size of administrative staffs and reducing the number of intermediary echelons. To accomplish this, it is first of all necessary to re-examine the functions and tasks of each ministry. The failure to clearly define main functions and tasks is the primary reason why the activities of the sectors conflict with one another and why the apparatus is cumbersome and ineffective. At the same time, we must formulate regulations that establish cooperation among the ministries. The process of reorganizing the state management system, especially the process of developing and strengthening the federations of enterprises and federated enterprises, will reveal reasonable requirements that must be met in order to organize a streamlined and effective apparatus. Generally speaking, the ministries that manage economic-technical sectors have the function of providing sector-wide management, which includes both the central economy and the local economy, consequently, they have the task of directly managing their subordinate production-business installations while guiding the sector management levels within the locality. The ministries have the tasks of planning the development of their entire sector, formulating the plan and primary balances, establishing guidelines for the development of science and technology, organizing cadre training, formulating management policies and regulations, guiding the process of organizing production within the sector and developing cooperation, a specialized division of labor and the relations involved in international cooperation.

In view of the fact that it is their function to provide state management on the local level, the localities (provinces and districts) have the tasks of conducting territorial planning and formulating the territorial economic plan; providing the infrastructure for economic, national defense and everyday activities; organizing relations of cooperation and association within the territory; concretizing the policies and regulations of the state in order to apply them well within the locality; organizing the material and spiritual lives of the residents of the locality; and protecting the environment and natural resources.

The reorganization of the management apparatus depends not only upon organizational work, but also demands the improvement of work methods. We must attach importance to providing guidance in accordance with plans and programs and must emphasize the use of contracts in the relations among the sectors and economic units. We must uphold the socialist system of law, the strict code of discipline of the state and the responsibility system. We must attach importance to fulfilling one's duties and not intervening professionally in the tasks of the lower levels. We must also attach

importance to reporting procedures, the procedures for requesting directives, the inspection system and the practice of conducting reviews in order to gain experience. Particular importance must be attached to the position of chief in management. The chief is personally responsible for the results of production and business; at the same time, he has certain authority to take the initiative in such areas as planning, supplies, finances and labor in accordance with the policies and laws of the state.

To a large degree, the reorganizing of the management apparatus and the strengthening of leadership, in general, depend upon cadre work. Today, in our economic development, cadres are the factor of decisive importance; one lesson that has been learned from the advanced model units as well as from places that are weak and deficient is that success or failure depend upon whether cadre work is performed well or not.

We must quickly select, reorganize and train the main cadres in charge of the economic units in all sectors and district. Cadre work must be based on the following primary standards: fully understanding the present economic line and policy, possessing knowledge of economics and technology, having the experience and the ability to organize implementation and provide management, being honest, faithful and brave and possessing revolutionary resolve.

When evaluating and selecting cadres to be put in charge of economic units of the central level located on the local level, the sectors on the central level must assess the opinions of the locality because the locality also has a responsibility in managing the activities of these units.

Today, the tasks involved in local development are very large but the force of scientific-technical cadres and management cadres is inefficiently deployed with too many on the central level and too few on the local level, especially within the districts and basic units. For this reason, a large number of cadres must be transferred from the central level to the localities and production installations. At the same time, a system of priorities must be put in place when recruiting local cadres and students for schools for training as local cadres as this is the only way to meet needs and stabilize the management apparatus. On the other hand, it is necessary to improve the benefit system for cadres working in the localities so that it is consistent with the new position of the district and installation, consistent with the qualifications and contributions of cadres and provides incentive for specialization among scientific-technical and management cadres.

In summary, the measures involved in establishing the division of responsibilities and echelons are basic measures in the improvement of economic management. They represent another step in the effort to abolish the mechanism of bureaucratic centralism, administrativism and subsidization; at the same time, they represent suitable ways to effectively apply the various economic laws and advance our economy toward large-scale socialist production. In essence, they are measures that create greater specialization, strengthen the relations involved in socialist cooperation and help to overcome the disorder we now face in order to stimulate the development of production and increase the economic returns from production and business.

Cooperation and specialization are among the basic guidelines for building the system of large-scale, socialist production. These are economic matters of major importance but they are also areas in which we do not have much experience. In many fraternal socialist countries, suitable and highly effective socio-economic forms and measures that have been taken to develop large-scale production have recorded major achievements but are still in the process of being tested and improved. The actual conditions of our country are unique in many respects compared to those of the fraternal countries and because small-scale production still predominates, conditions within our country vary from one area to the next. We must deeply study the experiences of the fraternal countries but should not automatically copy them. Establishing the division of labor and cooperation demand that we truly establish close coordination between the universal principles of socialist economic management and the special conditions of our country as well as each area and locality. This decision concerning the division of responsibilities and echelons sets forth major guidelines and basic principles. On the basis of these guidelines and principles, we must establish a complete mechanism designed to effectively strengthen the relations involved in cooperation and specialization. This is not easy work to perform because we must apply numerous economic laws, consequently, while performing this work, we must gain experience and gradually make improvements.

Due to the important practical significance of improving the division of economic management echelons in the present situation and its basic significance with regard to our long-range objectives, we must implement this program in a dynamic, determined fashion, overcome all conservative attitudes, indecisiveness, partialism and departmentalism among cadres and party members and bring about a strong change in the situation in keeping with the spirit of the 5th Party Congress, thereby successfully implementing the resolution of the 3rd Party Plenum.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The resolution of the 3rd Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee.

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## DEVELOPING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE MEKONG DELTA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 23-27

[Article by Nguyen Dang]

[Text] The Mekong Delta measures 4 million hectares of natural land. It is a fertile region of much sunlight and few typhoons, a region very well suited to the comprehensive development of agricultural production.

At present, there are 2.5 million hectares under the cultivation of grain in the Mekong Delta. By 1985, there could be as many as 3 million hectares under cultivation. Thus, the Mekong Delta will account for approximately 60 percent of the total rice output and three-fourths of the commodity paddy and rice output of the entire country. The potentials for developing the production of soybeans, jute, silk, hogs and ducks are also very large. Hundreds of thousands of tons of fresh and brackish water fish can be harvested annually. The delta also has favorable conditions for developing the production of exported agricultural products. Forests presently encompass nearly 330,000 hectares (not including 200,000 hectares of fruit trees and other perennial crops). The potentials that exist for developing agricultural production, forestry, fishing and the processing industry, including small industry and the artisan trades, in order to meet the daily needs of the people and export needs in the Mekong Delta are very large.

However, many large difficulties are faced in developing the agricultural potentials of the Mekong Delta. Agricultural production is still highly subsistent in nature in many areas of the delta. Much land is still acidic, polluted with sulfates or salt or waterlogged. Only a few small projects are just now beginning to be built to block the flow of salt water, reduce soil acidity, leach sulfates from the soil and combat floods. There are few large canals and there is also a lack of canals and ditches to provide water deep within field areas. The majority of production is still private production. The agricultural labor force is still unevenly distributed, being concentrated along rivers, roads and major canals; the deeper one goes into the vast field areas and the more difficult travel becomes, the land becomes more sparsely inhabited or actually uninhabited. The district and basic levels, which are the places that directly organize and guide agricultural production, are still weak in many respects.

Of the difficulties and obstacles mentioned above, there are some that we can quickly overcome; however, there are also many problems which require time and can only be resolved gradually. Thus, although we cannot overcome each and every difficulty and obstacle we face in the immediate future, this does not mean that we are unable to develop agricultural production more rapidly and strongly in coordination with building the new countryside.

To rapidly develop the tremendous potentials of agriculture in the Mekong Delta in a manner that yields high economic returns, it is first of all necessary to adopt a comprehensive point of view, necessary to know how to closely coordinate immediate targets and the guidelines for long-range development. The position that the agriculture of the Mekong Delta occupies within the overall agricultural development of the country must be correctly defined. On the basis of the guidelines for the development of this region's agricultural economy, we must plan the development of agriculture within the delta in a comprehensive manner based on intensive cultivation, specialized farming and the advance to large-scale socialist production. Secondly, the development of production forces must be closely linked to the transformation of production relations. The establishment of the new production relations within the delta must meet the requirement of developing production forces. These two elements are closely related to and stimulate each other's development. Thirdly, agricultural development must be coordinated with industry and distribution-circulation. The strong development of agricultural production in the Mekong Delta demands the corresponding development of installations in industry and distribution-circulation and the implementation of the various policies concerning economic levers with a view toward developing agricultural production within the region. On the other hand, the development of agriculture within the Mekong Delta is also closely related to the other production areas, primarily Ho Chi Minh City. Fourthly, it is necessary to efficiently redistribute labor and raise labor productivity within the Mekong Delta. The implementation of the plans for the development of agriculture, industry and the production of export goods within the delta demands much labor. Thus, the Mekong Delta has the conditions needed to rapidly increase the number of hours and days worked by local labor; at the same time, it is highly capable of receiving labor from other places, thereby contributing to the redistribution of labor on a nationwide scale. Fifthly, the people and the locality must display the highest possible spirit of self-reliance in order to overcome the difficulties they face, beginning with the difficulties involving capital, supplies, equipment and so forth. The state can only make selective investments in vital projects that the locality cannot carry out by itself. The state wholeheartedly encourages the locality to create additional sources of exports (outside the assigned state plan) to compensate for that portion of investments that cannot be provided under the state plan.

In the years ahead, the efforts to develop the Mekong Delta will focus on developing its agriculture; at the same time, we will develop the industry supporting agriculture, develop small industry and the artisan trades in a manner closely linked to the development of agriculture, rapidly increase the output of grain and food products, primarily rice, raw materials for industry and agricultural products for exportation, and improve the standard of living of the people in coordination with building the new, socialist countryside.

The guidelines for organizing production and allocating crops in the Mekong Delta are based primarily on the cultivation of rice and soybeans (a crop that can grow rapidly and produce a large output of commodities for exportation and domestic consumption) followed by the cultivation of crops of export value and raw materials for industry, such as jute, sugarcane, rushes, coconuts, pineapples, bananas and so forth, with importance attached to developing the production of subsidiary food crops and processing livestock feed from subsidiary food crops, thereby reducing the use of paddy and rice in livestock production. It is necessary to develop the raising of buffalo and cattle in order to provide additional draft power, develop hog production, the raising of duck flocks, the cultivation of shrimp and fish and so forth.

Thus, each small area and each production installation must conduct detailed planning, reorganize its production rearrange its allocation of crops, initiate rotation cultivation, intensive cultivation and multi-cropping, arrange a suitable allocation of crop varieties and livestock species, plan suitable stages of development for each area, closely link livestock production with crop production and agriculture with industry, communications-transportation and distribution-circulation and carry out cultural and social development. These are also the elements that are involved in building the district level within the provinces of the Mekong Delta.

Improving, protecting and nourishing the soil are of very important significance in constantly raising crop yields. The acidic and sulfate soil in the Mekong Delta measures 1.89 million hectares. At a time when research projects in how to treat sulfate soil have not been subjected to trials or widely implemented in fields, it is necessary to rely upon the experience of the masses and use sulfate soil in a manner suited to each crop in each area of land and in each season in order to achieve good economic returns.

We must closely coordinate the construction of small-scale water conservancy projects, which basically involves the construction of area and plot embankments and the digging of canals and ditches within fields, with the leveling of field surfaces. This is a simple guideline that requires only a small investment of capital and is one that farmers can implement themselves under the guidance of the basic level government and achieve practical economic returns.

Over the past several years, the bold introduction of new varieties in production has yielded good results. This fact has proven that using short-term, high yield varieties of rice, creating additional conditions for the multi-cropping of rice, avoiding the unfavorable weather changes that occur each year (such as flooding and drought), using varieties of rice that are resistant to brown planthoppers or a number of other pests and able to withstand sulfates and salt and introducing a number of other high yield varieties of crops in production are biological measures of major significance in developing the agriculture of the Mekong Delta.

As regards livestock production, the delta has established good breeds of hogs, such as the Thuoc Nhieu breed in the fresh water area and the Ba Xuyer breed in the brackish water area.

In view of the fact that material-technical bases still pose many difficulties, the widespread application of these technological advances in crop and livestock production will have a good effect and yield practical economic returns.

Intensifying the protection of crops and providing better livestock veterinary services are a pressing requirement. For a long time, the Mekong Delta has lost millions of tons of grain each year to pests and tens of thousands of head of livestock to disease. Therefore, each and every technological advance that is made in the protection of crops and the protection of livestock against disease will yield very large, practical economic returns.

The building of material-technical bases in the delta must, of course, be carried out in a selective manner and must be balanced with the available supply of materials. In particular, importance must be attached to the infrastructure, to developing communications-transportation and the distribution-circulation network supporting production and to boldly investing cadres and funds in scientific research and the application of scientific and technological advances in fields.

At a time when we have limited investment capital, the basic issue in successfully developing the agricultural potentials of the Mekong Delta in order to rapidly increase output and have many agricultural products and commodities to sell to the state is to make investments in depth in those areas that have favorable production conditions and the lowest production costs but which yield the most rapid and the highest economic returns. Specifically, with regard to rice, capital and supplies must be distributed in an efficient manner to insure normal production in all production areas; between now and 1985, we must allocate materials and investment capital for the establishment of two areas specializing in the intensive cultivation of rice.

The first of these areas will be used to raise two wet rice crops per year on approximately 250,000 hectares. This is an area of fertile soil in which there is fresh water available throughout the year and the people there have experience in intensive cultivation and multi-cropping. In 1981, An Giang Province had 30,000 hectares yielding from 9 to 10 tons per hectare in a winter-spring and a summer-fall rice crop. Tien Giang Province also had 10,000 hectares averaging from 8 to 9 tons per hectare in two rice crops per year. By 1985, if investments are made in developing it into an area specializing in the intensive cultivation of rice which achieves high yields in the neighborhood of 10 tons per hectare in two rice crops per year, this area will be able to product 2.5 million tons of paddy.

The second of these areas encompasses 300 hectares transplanted with one 10th month crop per year. The soil in this area is good but only produces one stable 10th month crop per year; during the dry season, the soil is polluted with salt, consequently, the land that is available for multi-cropping can only be used to raise subsidiary food crops and annual industrial crops. The provinces of Hau Giang, Kien Giang and Minh Hai achieved an average rice yield of 4 to 5 tons per hectare in 1980. By investing in intensive cultivation in this rice production area in order to achieve an average yield of 5 tons per

hectare per year, this area will be producing an output of 1.5 million tons of paddy per year by 1985.

By concentrating on investing in intensive cultivation in these two rice production areas (550,000 hectares of wet rice of a total 800,000 hectares under cultivation), we will be able to harvest 4 million tons of paddy and the state will be able to mobilize about 2 million tons of commodity paddy in these areas each year. This is an investment that will not require very much capital but which will yield rapid, certain returns and can make significant use of local labor and arable land.

In order to achieve good results in the effort to develop the Mekong Delta, it is absolutely necessary to carry out agricultural cooperativization in a positive and steady manner, in an effort to complete agricultural cooperativization in this region by 1985, primarily in the form of production collectives (measuring 40 to 50 hectares). In the process of carrying out cooperativization in the delta, those places that lack the conditions needed to establish production collectives and agricultural production cooperatives at the very outset should widely organize production solidarity teams and work rotation and exchange teams in order to provide training to farmers and gradually guide them down the path of earning their livings collectively. The transformation of the production relations within agriculture in the delta must achieve the objectives of strongly developing production, raising the standard of living of the people and contributing much to the state.

As regards management, the pilot project in "product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers" based on directive 100 of the Party Secretariat has had the positive support of the farmers at the cooperatives and production collectives of Ho Chi Minh City, Dong Nai Province, Hau Giang Province and a number of other provinces. Thus, the product contract with groups of laborers and individual laborers within cooperatives and production collectives must be widely implemented and must be implemented as soon as a production collective is organized.

Each policy and measure designed to develop the agriculture of the Mekong Delta is implemented on the district level. The districts of the Mekong Delta lie within the number one grain and food production region of the country; therefore, the building of the district level within the delta assumes even more decisive significance in the implementation of the grain and food program of the region. In view of the fact that material-technical bases are still underdeveloped and the ability of the state to make investments and import equipment for agriculture is still very limited, the strengthening and building of the district level within the delta is even more necessary in order to mobilize the potentials of each area and district and develop and make full use of arable land, labor and existing material-technical bases as well as efficiently utilize investment capital provided by the upper level. Socialist transformation within agriculture, which is closely linked to the movement to accelerate agricultural production in the Mekong Delta, is directly affected by the building of the district level in this region. Because the district level plays such a decisive role, the various sectors and levels must adopt specific plans and measures for urgently helping to build the district level. It is necessary to re-examine the size of the district's

territory, population and labor force, conduct various types of planning, beginning with agricultural planning, formulate the district budget, build the rear service network supporting production as well as distribution-circulation within the district and so forth.

Between now and 1985, the implementation of the program for the development of the Mekong Delta will require a very large labor force because the level of mechanization is low. The redistribution of labor for the purpose of developing agriculture in the Mekong Delta must be closely linked to planning the economic development of the entire area, primarily to the planning and plans for the development of agricultural production. The redistribution of labor within the delta must also be closely linked to the redistribution of the population in order to meet the requirement of economic, political and social development as well as the development of the security and national defense systems. We must redistribute labor and organize labor well within each production collective, each cooperative and the district in order to initiate intensive cultivation and multi-cropping, develop both crop and livestock production, open trades, build water conservancy projects, build material-technical bases for agriculture and gradually build the new countryside. We must develop and make good use of primarily the sources of local labor by redistributing labor within each area and endeavoring to insure that each laborer works 200 days per year. On the other hand, it is necessary to adopt a thorough and dependable plan for transferring and utilizing the labor arriving from other places, especially laborers (and their families) coming from the provinces of the Red River Delta to the state farms and areas in need of labor in the Mekong Delta. Laborers and the people in the cities and provinces should be encouraged to participate in the building of new economic zones, participate in the development of agriculture, small industry and the artisan trades and work in the services in the Mekong Delta. In the effort to organize and distribute labor in the delta, attention must be given to developing various forms of brotherhoods between the provinces, districts, villages, state farms, installations and so forth of the Mekong Delta and other places under the guidelines of those who go first persuading others to join them, practicing mutual help, allowing the troops engaged in economic work to take their families along with them to engage in production and so forth.

Recently, the state promulgated several policies designed to provide incentive for production, policies that have begun to have a good impact upon the development of agricultural production. It is necessary to implement the policies that have been promulgated well. At the same time, research must be conducted in order to amend a number of policies that provide incentive for production, such as the investment, price and tax policies; the policy that provides incentive for intensive cultivation, multi-cropping and the clearing of land, the policy that gives priority to assisting the collective production of production collectives and cooperatives; the policy providing incentive for hog and duck production; and the policies that encourage cadres to work on the district, village and basic levels and encourage cadres from the northern provinces to come to the Mekong Delta to support the development of production and the development of agriculture.

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## THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDING THE THINKING OF PRESIDENT HO CONCERNING FRUGALITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 28-31

[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Nam]

[Text] Our people have a tradition of being frugal. This tradition is reflected in folk songs and proverbs: "Work when you are healthy so you have something set aside when you are sick"; "tighten your belts," etc. Our people also criticize those who "squander what they have," "throw money out the window," "live with no thought for tomorrow" and so forth. In our 4,000 year history of building and defending the country, our people have diligently worked and consciously practiced frugality in order to build a prosperous and beautiful country and create a life of comfort and happiness.

Our people's tradition of being frugal was broadened in concept and developed into an economic law by President Ho. He said: "We can only build socialism by increasing production and practicing frugality. Producing products without practicing frugality is like wind blowing through an empty house. Therefore, we must know how to maintain public property. Misappropriation and the waste of property belonging to the state, the collective and the people are acts of theft that everyone must hate, must work to eliminate."(1)

Uncle Ho's concept of being frugal not only involved being frugal in the use of raw materials, fuels and supplies, but also in the use of time, the use of manpower, the use of money and so forth; it not only involved being frugal with one's personal possessions, but also with that which belongs to the collective, the people, the state, etc. He said: "If we skillfully economize on manpower, money and time, the present labor and financial resources of our country can be used to increase production many times and also increase our forces in every area many times."(2) And, he appealed: "We must learn how to organize things so that one person can perform the work of two, two days work can be performed in one day and one dong can be made to do the work of two dong."(3)

In work, production and studies, thought absolutely must be given to making frugal use of time. To us, time is as necessary as the food, air and water we need to sustain life. Without time, no job, not even the smallest, can be completed. However, time goes by very quickly and never returns. Therefore,

he who wastes time suffers a very large loss for which nothing can compensate. President Ho frequently cited the folk sayings that "One minute is worth a thousand ounces of gold" or "Time is gold" to remind cadres and the people to practice frugality in the use of their time. In November, 1945, during a speech to the students of the Vietnamese Cadre School, he lovingly criticized some students who arrived late: "The invitation said that my speech would begin at 0800 hours; it is not 0810 hours and many students have yet to arrive. I urge you to be on time because time is very precious."(4) On another occasion, he reminded the state agencies, mass organizations, army units, schools and so forth of the need to use time in a frugal manner and oppose lavish, non-productive meetings. he said: "In every job we perform, we must carefully plan, carefully weigh the pros and cons. 'Time is gold.' We must resolutely oppose the holding of meetings that are lavish, that waste time, harm the health of participants and achieve nothing by way of practical results."(5)

With regard to the frugal use of time, K. Marx pointed out: being frugal in the use of time, which is the same thing as the planned distribution of work time by production sectors, will continue in collective production to be the first economic law. Because, a specific and precise planned distribution of work time on every job not only helps us to raise our labor productivity, but also reflects the spirit of initiative, the mastery of ourselves and our mastery of the amount of time in which our work will be completed. For this reason, Marx and Engels asserted that practicing frugality in the use of time is the most important principle of socialism.

President Ho stressed that in order to achieve results in the practice of frugality, it is first of all necessary to eradicate corruption, waste and bureaucracy. Because, they are the causes, the origins of the failure to practice frugality within state agencies, economic installations, army units and so forth. He said: "Because they contract the malady of bureaucracy, leaders and leadership agencies have eyes but do not see, have ears but do not hear, have regulations but do not comply with them and have a code of discipline but do not comply with it, with the result that they become bad persons, become cadres who engage in misappropriation at will and are wasteful."(6) He asserted: "Misappropriation is theft. Waste, although it does not involve taking money from someone's pocket, is very harmful to the people, to the government, sometimes even more harmful than misappropriation."(7)

Misappropriation, waste and bureaucracy are a kind of "enemy within," an "internal aggressor" that we must fight just as we fight foreign aggressors. Why does this "enemy within" exist? How do we fight it? How do we deal with it? Uncle Ho answered these questions for us. He said: "There are some persons who, when the struggle first began, were enthusiastic and loyal, who feared no danger, feared no difficulty and had no fear of the enemy, that is, who truly performed a service for the revolution; however, once they acquire a certain amount of power, they become arrogant and lavish, become corrupt, wasteful and bureaucratic, lose all self-awareness and become persons who actually commit crimes against the revolution. We must rescue them, must help them to restore their revolutionary virtues. There are some persons who preach devotion to the fatherland and devotion to the people but readily

misappropriate materials, waste materials and harm the fatherland and the people. We must educate these persons, must bring them back to the path of the revolution."(8)

Being frugal does not mean being stingy, rather, it means having the courage to spend money for worthy purposes, having the courage to allocate public funds for the construction of projects that should be built. Uncle Ho taught us: "Being frugal does not mean being stingy, does not mean 'considering the accumulation of money to be the ultimate objective' nor does it mean not doing that which should be done, not spending money that should be spent; being frugal does not mean forcing troops, cadres and the people to eat less, to wear tattered clothing. To the contrary, the essence of being frugal is to help increase production, and the purpose of increasing production is raising the standard of living of troops, cadres and the people. In scientific terms, being frugal is a positive, not a negative, action."(9)

Among us, there are some persons who carefully consider and discuss with their families whether or not they should spend one dong, one ounce of rice, one bottle of oil, one piece of firewood that they have in order to do something that they have in mind. That is, they plan their expenditures very thoroughly. But, when it comes to money, property, supplies, fuel and so forth that belong to the state, to the cooperative, enterprise, worksite, state farm, forestry site, school, army unit and so forth, they are very wasteful and even look for ways to take what they want back to their private homes without feeling any regret or pain.

In addition to teaching us the theory of frugality, Uncle Ho also set a bright example of frugality. Having no desire for a spacious dwelling, he lived in a house that had but two small rooms; instead of eating kaoliang and delicacies, he preferred a small portion of dried fish, a bowl of soup and a dish of melon or a few pieces of pickled eggplant prepared in the style of his native village; instead of silk, he wore the garb of our elderly Vietnamese farmers. While in Viet Bac, he often instructed the food managers there to absolutely not prepare too much food or throw food away. Every comrade that brought back fruit or food given as a gift by the people had to set it aside for the daily meal before they could eat it; if there was much fruit, the cooks had to reduce the amount of rice prepared for the meal for a corresponding amount.

When he was alive, Uncle Ho did not want the state to make any expenditure on him that he felt was unnecessary. In the 14 September 1969 edition of L'HUMANITE Newspaper (France), Sac-lo Phuoc-ni-o [Vietnamese phonetics] wrote an article stating that, on 15 July, during a discussion, Ho Chi Minh strongly opposed every suggestion that money be spent to celebrate his 80th birthday. And, before he departed from this world, he once again advised: "When I die, do not waste the time and money of the people by holding a grand funeral for me."(10)

The example of frugality set by Uncle Ho is one that our entire party, all our people and our entire army can follow as they practice frugality in building the country. In the "small plans for vanguard teenagers" movement, teenagers collected some 4 million kilograms of paper of various types and delivered it

to paper mills for use in the production of paper and notebooks in order to reduce the difficulties encountered in their studies as a result of the scarcity of paper. As of 1977, more than 5 million persons had deposited nearly 1 billion dong in socialist savings accounts.

This money was equal to 10 percent of the capital provided through the state budget to the various localities in the form of loans to build and develop the economy and improve the living conditions of the people.

Because of the obvious role played by frugality, practicing frugality has become an article in the Constitution of the SRV: "The state shall teach and encourage all the people to practice frugality in socialist construction..."(Article 30).

The state regulates and closely inspects the use of time, labor, materials and capital in production, construction, business and administrative management and practices a policy of reasonable consumption.

Being frugal is very necessary to our nation, a poor nation that was oppressed and exploited for many centuries by foreign enemies. In the two wars of aggression waged by the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, our country's poor and backward economy was ravaged, consequently, it became even poorer and more severely crippled. To build socialism, we must increase production and practice frugality.

Frugality is also a very necessary practice in countries that have a developed economy and have reached a level of advanced scientific and technological development, such as the Soviet Union, for example. The 26th Congress of the CPSU adopted the slogan: "Frugality in economic development." The entire economic apparatus must operate in a manner consistent with this requirement. And, one of the four sources of the money needed to implement the 11th five year plan of the Soviet Union on economic and social development is the practice of frugality. The economists of the Soviet Union have calculated: "The Soviet Union has better sources of raw materials and fuels than any other developed industrial country in the world. And, we must conserve these resources not only to survive, but primarily to develop more rapidly."

In the GDR, they have calculated that if all the enterprises within the industrial sectors managed by the central level rationalize their production and reduce the cost of raw materials and supplies by 1 xu [as published] in the production of every 100 marks worth of product, they can annually save the national economy more than 20 million marks. This money can be used to provide housing for 2,000 citizens or support 20,000 children in kindergartens.

In Hungary, as a result of conserving on fuel and energy and, at the same time, making use of discarded industrial materials in its 5-year plan, Hungary can save from 26 to 28 billion forint.

On the basis of the facts presented above, we see that frugality is not only a necessary practice in countries that have poor economies and are underdeveloped scientifically and technically, but that it is also a very

necessary practice in prosperous countries that have reached the level of advanced scientific and technological development. In the present age, frugality is not just a term that enriches the vocabulary of nations, rather, it has become a law of economic development and many countries have elevated it to the level of a national policy.

Deeply imbued with President Ho's thinking of practicing frugality in order to build socialism, the Political Report of the Party Central Committee presented at the 5th Congress of the Party by General Secretary Le Duan stated: "Practicing frugality is a major, long-term national policy, one that must be defined in the form of specific policies, regulations, norms and measures. We must practice frugality in every field: capital construction, production, everyday life, national defense and security expenditures and administrative expenditures. We must practice frugality with everything: capital, supplies, energy, raw materials, equipment, machinery, consumer goods, time and the labor force. We must practice frugality in consumption by society and in personal consumption, in expenditures by the state, by the collective and by the people. Although the standard of living of the laboring people of our country is low, we must realize that we are consuming far more than we produce. This cannot be tolerated. We must live in a manner consistent with the results of our labor and not consume more than is permitted by the level of development of production. We must meet the needs of everyday life but must also endure difficulties in order to protect the independence and freedom of the fatherland and must allocate an appropriate percentage of our accumulated capital in order to carry out expanded reproduction and build the material-technical bases of socialism." These are the major guidelines of the major national policy on frugality. If our entire party, all our people and our entire army join together, 1 million persons as one, and wholeheartedly implement this national policy, we will surely be able to overcome the economic difficulties that our country faces now and be fully capable of building an increasingly beautiful and prosperous country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume II, p 214.
2. Ibid., p 509-510.
3. Ibid., p 508.
4. "The Appeals by President Ho," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, Volume I, p 57.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Practicing Frugality and Combating Misappropriation, Waste and Bureaucracy," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 38.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 513.
7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p 515.

9. Ibid., p 507.

10. Ibid., Volume II, p 543.

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## ON THE ECONOMIC LAWS IN EFFECT DURING THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 32-39

[Article by Tran Ho]

[Text] Part I.

Economic laws, which are the laws governing the development of the mode of production, determine how material wealth is produced and distributed. Economic laws, which reflect the reciprocal relationships among the various economic processes and reflect the relations among persons in production, arise and have an impact on the basis of specific economic conditions. Economic laws are also objective in nature and are part of the laws of society, consequently, they must be implemented through the activities of man.

In socialism, man can recognize these laws and apply them to build the new society. Recognizing and correctly applying the various economic laws help us to adopt correct economic policies, organize the economic management apparatus in a scientific fashion and develop efficient methods for managing the economy; because, economic management is the link between economic laws and the practical activities of man. However, applying economic laws in a manner that yields good results is not easy; rather, it is a very difficult process which sometimes requires that we do something over many times as though we were groping around in the dark. This is because there is a very wide gap between known laws and the practical actions of man. One of the reasons for the poor organization and management of our economy is the failure to fully understand economic laws and the failure to successfully apply these laws in organizing and managing the national economy. The recent shortcomings in planning, in guiding the various areas of production, distribution, circulation and so forth have been due, in large measure, to our failure to understand and correctly apply economic laws.

Every economic law has its base. In order for an economic law to have an impact, we must create the necessary conditions in terms of economic relations. In order to have an impact upon and affect the conditions upon which a law has an effect, we must change the economic base that gave rise to this law and this, too, must be done in accordance with laws, not in

accordance with our subjective desires. All temporary economic shortcomings and mistakes can be gradually corrected in accordance with the objective requirements of laws. The only problem is that once a shortcoming or mistake has been committed, a price must be paid because the labor and material wealth of society have been wasted.

When the economy still consists of many segments, the private economic continues to exist alongside the socialist economy; however, there was a time when some persons wanted to abolish the private economy, abolish the "free" market. Some management cadres employ too many administrative measures to regulate economic relations. There was a time when they very naively wanted to use such measures as banning outdoor markets, closing rivers to traffic, delineating areas and controlling the normal exchange of goods among the localities and areas of the country. Consequently, artificial scarcities of goods were created at some times and places, thereby affecting the normal lives of the people. Lenin pointed out: "They look for ways to prohibit and encircle every development of private trade...development which is inevitable when there are millions of small producers. This policy is stupid and suicidal to any party that seeks to implement it. It is stupid because, in economic terms, this policy can never be implemented. It is suicidal because any party that pursues such a policy will surely become bankrupt."(1)

In order to influence the impact of the various economic laws, we must create the conditions for the birth of a new economic base, for the development of the economic factors upon which the economic laws have an effect. To perform economic work solely on the basis of subjective desires is not only illusory, but also causes long-term damage to production and the standard of living. Engels clearly pointed out that the seizure of the instruments of production by society only becomes an historic inevitability when the material conditions needed for this to occur exist, just as all other progress by society occurs not as the result of our understanding that the existence of classes is contrary to justice, contrary to equality, nor as the result of the desire to destroy these classes, but as a result of the emergence of certain new economic conditions.

In our country at this time, in order for the economic laws of socialism to have an impact, we must successfully carry out the socialist transformation of the private segments of the economy, especially in the South, while building the material-technical bases of socialism, that is, while creating the new economic base, creating the objective material base needed for the economic laws of socialism to have an increasingly strong effect.

The formation of socialist production relations, most importantly the public ownership of the instruments of production, which determines the objective of socialist production, is the first prerequisite to the birth of socialist economic laws. Production relations, which are the base upon which economic laws are created and which cause these laws to have an impact, reflect the relationships between one person and another in production. The economic laws reflect the essential relations among persons in production. When socialist production relations are first established, the impact of the economic laws of socialism is still weak and limited; as socialist production relations are

strengthened and developed, these economic laws have an increasingly strong and full impact.

Production relations must correspond to the level of development of production forces. When production forces reach a certain level of development, the antagonism between them and production relations demands the dismantling of the old production relations and the formation of new ones, which, in turn, provides the base for the birth of the new system of economic laws. When the factors of production forces develop, they create the material premise for the impact of the various economic laws. However, we must realize that production forces have an impact upon economic laws in an indirect manner through production relations. It is through the results achieved in the effort to strengthen and perfect production relations that production forces affect the scope and intensity of impact of the economic laws.

Natural laws and economic laws differ in one respect: the impact of the natural laws is immutable. When applied in certain environments and circumstances, we can accurately predict the impact of natural laws. For example, with regard to the law of the conservation of energy, we can accurately calculate the result of this law's use if we know the specific type of energy in advance. Or, we can accurately compute the flight of spaceships or the parameters of the flight paths taken by aircraft from one place to another.

However, not only are the economic laws implemented through the activities of man, but their impact cannot be calculated with precise accuracy either; the impact of the economic laws is very flexible and diverse. Under similar conditions and circumstances, persons adopt different plans to resolve problems encountered in the application of economic laws. Under the socialist system, when commodity production still exists and the law of value still has an effect, many different plans can be adopted to affect the way in which the law of value is expressed. Therefore, under a given set of conditions within the same economy, economic laws have an impact under a variety of different plans. This indicates the flexibility, diversity and complexity of the impact of the economic laws.

Within the economy, it seems that we only notice the impact of the economic laws when the economy is abnormal, not when these economic laws are being applied well. We only give thought to the improper application of economic laws and criticize and find fault with economists when the economy is encountering numerous difficulties, when imbalances are evident, when production fails to meet consumer needs, when the market is unstable, when prices rise and so forth. But when the economy is developing normally and the standard of living of the people is constantly being improved, we do not see the impact of the various economic laws; this is the unique mode of expression of the economic laws.

## Part II.

Recognizing and applying the economic laws are of very important significance in socialist construction. When they speak, some persons mention this law, that law and so forth; however, in the day to day guidance they provide, they

give no thought whatsoever to the impact of economic laws. As a result, they have made mistakes in a number of specific policies and economic management methods that they have established, thereby causing significant harm in production and everyday life.

In order to apply the various economic laws well, we must have a clear understanding of the specific conditions and circumstances under which these laws are having an impact. Every economic law has an impact within certain economic environments and under certain economic conditions, primarily those involving the level of development of production forces and the production relations of society. In addition, we must also take into consideration the historic characteristics and circumstances as well as the social consciousness of this society. Under which conditions and circumstances are the economic laws now having an impact in our country?

To begin with, our country is in the initial stage of the period of transition and the various economic laws are having an impact within an economy that still consists of many different segments.

At present, our country has a socialist economy, a capitalist economy and a private economy. Within each of these separate segments of the economy is a specific mode of production with specific economic laws that reflect the production relations that correspond to and are consistent with this segment of the economy. In addition, due to our conscious activities, mixed or transitional (joint public-private) types of economic segments exist within certain production sectors.

There are differences among these various segments of the economy, even points concerning which they oppose one another, and the economic laws of these segments also struggle against one another. These laws have an impact upon one another, limit one another's impact and, in the end, along with the abolition of the private segments of the economy, the economic laws that correspond to these private segments cease to exist. Therefore, economic management during the period of transition must resolve the economic antagonisms in the struggle between socialism and capitalist with a view toward creating the conditions for building and developing an increasingly large and strong socialist economy. Here, there are laws that oppose one another within an economy in transition: the fundamental economic law of socialism occupies the dominant position within the system of socialist economic laws but, at the same time, because the private, capitalist economic segment still exists, the law of surplus value remains in effect; there is the law of the planned development of the economy, which is based on socialist ownership of the instruments of production, but there are still the law of competition and unbridled production based on the private economy's private ownership of the instruments of production, etc. These laws struggle against and control one another within the economy of the period of transition.

In the period of transition, the economic laws of socialism, although they play the dominant role, because the economy still consists of many different segments, only truly have an impact within the socialist economy; therefore, their impact is neither full nor strong. The impact of the economic laws of socialism is also limited by the incomplete development of production forces,

the weakness of the material-technical bases of socialism and the low level of development of production relations.

We must clearly recognize the nature of the period of transition as a stage and must give our attention to the lack of similarity in the economic bases of the various stages throughout the process of formation of the socialist mode of production in order to see the scope and extent of the impact of the various economic laws as well as the differences among these various stages of development. We may not confuse the various stages involved in the formation of the socialist mode of production nor may we confuse the period of transition with the period of developed socialism. In our country, which is presently in the initial stage of the period of transition, not only does the economy still consist of many different segments, but the material-technical bases of socialism are still weak and socialist production relations have only begun to be established, consequently, it is inevitable that the economic laws of socialism have a limited impact. Recognizing this fact, we must give even more attention to continuing to intensify socialist transformation and the struggle against the negative aspects of the private economy while making every effort to strengthen and develop the socialist production relations.

Secondly, the economic laws are having an impact within an economy that is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. In our country, the economic laws of socialism are being established on the basis of socialist production relations that are still weak because these new production relations are based on a system of production that primarily involves manual labor. Our country virtually has no material base of the new society; therefore, the economic laws of socialism lack the firm foundation needed to have a full and normal impact. We are not surprised when we see that the serious imbalances within the economy are limiting the impact of the law of planned development nor are we surprised to see that the law of constantly higher labor productivity and the law of distribution in accordance with labor are not having a full impact.

Thirdly, shortly after our country's economy experienced a long war against foreign aggression, we are now fighting a multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the enemy and must constantly be ready to fight against a large-scale war of aggression in order to defend the fatherland.

In recent years, we have been overcoming the very serious aftereffects of the war while restoring and developing the economy, consequently, the standard of living of the people is still low. In the past 7 years alone, we have spent nearly 3 years fighting wars to defend our country and have mobilized an important percentage of our manpower and materiel for the defense of the fatherland, consequently, many norms of the second 5-year plan could not be implemented in a normal fashion. This proves that, in our country, the economic laws of socialism must have an impact under very abnormal economic conditions, and this situation will persist for some time to come.

Fourthly, our level of economic organization and management is still low.

The superior aspect of the socialist production relations is that they are protected and favorable conditions for their development are created by the

dictatorship of the proletariat state, which is the effective weapon insuring the victory of socialist construction. The socialist state uses its function of organizing and building to form and strengthen the socialist economy for the purpose of heightening the impact of the economic laws of socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat state plans the national economy with a view toward making good use of labor, arable land and all existing instruments of production and developing the potentials of the country in order to stimulate the development of the socialist system of production. These are the requirements of the economic laws of socialism and if we plan the national economy well, we will create favorable conditions for these economic laws to have an impact. The dictatorship of the proletariat state adheres to and applies the various economic laws in order to define specific policies and, at the same time, organize the economic management apparatus and the system of economic management methods and implement these policies successfully. On the other hand, if the economic management mechanism is based on the proper application of the economic laws, it will create favorable conditions for these laws to have a good impact.

However, in the recent past, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been lax in many fields, especially on the distribution-circulation front, and our ability to organize and manage the economy is still poor. "On the one hand, we have acted in a subjective and impetuous manner by establishing tasks and norms of the state plan that are too high compared to capabilities and adopting policies concerning production, construction and distribution-circulation that lack the proper foundation and have led to the waste of much manpower and money; on the other hand, we have been very conservative and slow with regard to implementing the line of the party and many resolutions of the Central Committee." (2) "In certain areas, shortcomings and mistakes in leadership and management are the main cause of or have exacerbated the economic and social difficulties experienced over the past several years." (3)

One of our most serious shortcomings has been the failure to properly apply the law which requires that production relations be consistent with the level of development of production forces. This was clearly evident in the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in the North that were too large compared to our weak material-technical bases and our low level of management, as a result of which cooperation in labor and the division of labor were not stimulated and the development of production slowed. On the other hand, due to the failure to make good use of economic levers in the production as well as distribution and circulation, economic development has not been strongly stimulated.

Recently, we readjusted the sizes of agricultural cooperatives and production units to match the level of development of production forces. In view of the fact that the material-technical bases of cooperatives are still underdeveloped, implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor through "product contracts with groups of laborers and laborers" by means of remunerating labor in a manner that makes the laborer directly responsible for the final product is consistent with the present situation, consequently, it has served to stimulate the development of agriculture.

In recent years, the law of value has also had an abnormal effect because the production and circulation of goods have been occurring within an abnormal economic state. Because of many objective factors and due to the shortcomings in the application of the law of value by the economic management apparatus, the development of the production and circulation of goods has not been stimulated with a view toward achieving high economic returns. Although production costs and economic conditions changes, conservative attitudes caused the prices of goods to remain fixed for a long period of time, which was unreasonable. However, as soon as this shortcoming was criticized, another was committed: we became subjective, impetuous and failed to make carefully considered decisions concerning prices. The policy of the party and state on adjusting prices is both necessary and correct but mistakes have been made in its implementation: some prices levels were incorrectly calculated and some prices were announced and put into effect without making the necessary preparations, without closely coordinating the planning, financial, price and commerce sectors. As long as the economic management methods based on bureaucracy and subsidization remain in effect and as long as the production and circulation of goods are not based on the consumption of social labor, the law of value will continue to have an abnormal impact. It is necessary to accelerate the production and the circulation of goods in accordance with socialist business principles in order to provide good management based on the requirements of the economic laws of socialism.

The weakness that has an important effect upon the impact of the economic laws of socialism is the fact that labor productivity in our country is very low. This weakness affects many areas of production and social life and limits the impact of the fundamental economic law of socialism. Due to low labor productivity, we do not have the necessary quantity of products for laborers, consequently, we do not have surplus products with which to accumulate capital and improve the welfare of society.

Low labor productivity has led to a small social product, a shortage of grain, a shortage of raw materials and a shortage of consumer goods and has created a serious imbalance between supply and demand, between production and consumption, consequently, the law of planned development has yet to have a good effect within the national economy. In past years, due to very low labor productivity, we have been completely unable to use labor as the measurement for implementing the law of distribution in accordance with labor, rather, some distribution must still be carried out through a supply system. At present, the distribution of consumer goods is gradually being improved in order to fully implement the law of distribution in accordance with labor for the purpose of stimulating the development of production.

In order to apply the various economic laws well, we must give our attention to the following several matters:

First, we must have a correct understanding of the various economic laws that have an impact during the initial stage of the period of transition.

In order to apply the economic laws, it is first of all necessary for us to have a correct understanding and a firm grasp of the objective requirements, the impact and the characteristics of each economic law during the initial

stage of the period of transition, in which the struggle between socialism and capitalism is a sharp struggle. Each economic law has an impact in each of the different stages; therefore, when applying these laws, attention must be given to clearly recognizing their characteristics in each specific stage. Correctly understanding the various laws is the prerequisite to applying these laws well because, once we have a correct understanding of the theory behind these laws, we can create widespread conditions and capabilities for applying the various economic laws in the realities of economic management in our country.

Secondly, we must clearly recognize the characteristics of the level of development of production forces and production relations in the present mode of production.

It is necessary to correctly define the level of development of production forces and the degree of development of socialist production relations at this time; we may not do this in a subjective or impetuous manner and may not apply forms and measures in a manner that is not consistent with present economic conditions. All economic management that is subjective and impetuous in nature causes significant harm within the economy.

Thirdly, we must know the objectives and tasks involved in economic development and the requirements of the political task in each given stage. This is a very important basis for establishing forms of economic management and economic management measures designed to achieve socio-economic objectives and successfully carry out the political and economic tasks set forth by the party. Every application of the economic laws must be consistent with and support the economic and social goals and tasks of the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 and the 1980's as a whole.

Fourthly, it is necessary to select and make use of suitable economic forms.

All economic laws are expressed through economic forms. A law can be expressed in many different economic forms; an economic form can be the method of expression of many different laws because the economic laws of a mode of production have an impact and develop in an integrated manner, consequently, we must know how to apply the various economic laws in a well coordinated and integrated manner. The forms through which the law of value is expressed not only include prices, but also include profits, cost accounting, etc. Wages are not only the expression of the law of distribution in accordance with labor, but also of the fundamental economic law of socialism, the law of constantly rising labor productivity and so forth. Due to changing economic conditions, some economic forms are very well suited to the present stage but are not suitable in other stages. Therefore, instead of being conservative and obstinately maintaining a fixed form, we must make flexible use of the multi-faceted nature of these forms.

A long-standing weakness in our economic management has been the failure to research and develop many different economic forms and select suitable ones that reflect the essence of the economic laws. In order to select economic forms correctly, we must rely upon the special characteristics of the economy,

the level of development of production forces, the degree of development of socialist production relations, the economic structure, etc.

Fifthly, we must establish an efficient economic management mechanism.

In the recent past, the economic management mechanism that is so heavily characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization has restricted the development of production, consequently, it has also limited the impact of the economic laws of socialism. A number of specific policies, especially policies regarding distribution and circulation that were promulgated long ago, have recently been partially amended and revised but are still not well coordinated. We must apply the various economic laws to the actual situation within our country in order to establish correct economic policies. Economic policies must reflect the requirements of the economic laws and the specific tasks in each stage of the socialist revolution in our country. We must establish an efficient economic management mechanism based on the present level of development of production forces and production relations.

The present economic management apparatus is very cumbersome and ineffective. Cadres have not been properly deployed and have been slow to receive training in economic management, consequently, they cannot apply the various economic laws well. All economic policies are implemented by the cadres of the apparatus; therefore, when formulating economic policies, we must, at the same time, build the economic management apparatus as this is the only way to apply the economic laws well.

Recently, we have committed mistakes and shortcomings in the management of the economy and society; these have been due to many causes but, "in the final analysis, they have been due to the failure to truly understand the laws involved in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production." (4) It is necessary to "combat bureaucracy and conservatism in order to quickly adopt plans, policies, regulations and management methods that are consistent with economic laws and with the characteristics of our country's economy." (5) On the other hand, in our economic management, we must firmly adhere to the stand and viewpoints of socialism and strictly comply with the principle of democratic centralism in order to insure that our country's economy develops in exact accordance with the guidelines of socialism. We must have a full understanding of economic laws and possess knowledge of economic management so that we can correctly apply economic laws in order to organize and manage our country's economy well.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book 2, Part 2, p 502.
2. "The Guidelines, Tasks and Primary Objectives Concerning the Economy and Society During the 5 Years from 1981 to 1985 and the 1980's," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 96.

3. "The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, pp 29, 30.
4. "The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 30.
5. "The Report on Party Building by the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress," TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 5-1982, p 21.

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THE UNITY OF THE ARMY AND THE PEOPLE ON THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS BATTLEFIELD IN  
THE WAR OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 40-44, 60

[Article by Lieutenant General Hoang Minh Thao]

[Text] Establishing, strengthening and developing the unity between the army and the people is a major task of the army. To the party, it is a matter of line and principle. The people are the base of all strength: the people are the roots, the army is the branches of the tree. President Ho Chi Minh said:

"The country has the people as its base... When the entire population is united as one, the army is good, the people are good and anything can be accomplished. To endure, a tree must have deep, strong roots, so, build the palace of victory upon the foundation of the people."(1)

In our people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, all the victories won in every area of the struggle by the armed forces and the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands were closely linked to the concern shown for building and vigorously upholding the tradition of solidarity between the army and the people of the ethnic minorities.

In the face of every stern challenge posed by the war as well as in the face of the very clever schemes and attempts by the enemy to divide them, the army and people constantly shared a single will in the struggle. Regardless of how great their difficulties and hardships were, the troops of B3 (the Central Highlands) and the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands remained united. This shining revolutionary sentiment became a fine tradition and quality of the army and the people of the ethnic minorities in the unyielding land of the Central Highlands. As a result of this unity, the revolutionary armed forces and the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands moved the revolution strongly forward, advanced to victory after victory and excellently completed the political and military tasks assigned to them by the party: liberating the Central Highlands and launching the strategic general offensive in the spring of 1975, thereby contributing along with the rest of the country to bringing the resistance against the United States for national salvation and the struggle to liberate the South to total victory.

The Central Highlands is a region that occupies a very important strategic position. As soon as they began to commit aggression against our country, the French colonialists as well as the U.S. imperialists attached very much importance to this vital strategic region.

Prior to the revolution, the people of the Central Highlands lived extremely difficult lives in this vast, sparsely populated region with its treacherous mountainous terrain. However, being tenacious, forthright and honest people and because they had to wage a decisive struggle against nature and against oppression by invading armies, the ethnic minorities of the Central Highlands closely united with one another within their common community, determined to conquer nature and struggle against foreign enemies to survive and develop.

After the birth of our party, the party's light illuminated the mountainous forests of the Central Highlands, illuminated the hearts of the ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands. The party's policy of unity and equality among ethnic minorities and the concern displayed by Uncle Ho gave rise to fine traditions and put together and made full use of the tremendous strength of the Central Highland ethnic minorities in the struggle to liberate the nation and defend the fatherland.

It was under these conditions that the Central Highlands Front (the B3 Front) was established in order to carry out the glorious mission assigned by the party and army: building the Central Highlands into a battlefield of great destructive power in order to strengthen and expand the mountainous forest base in the border region of the three countries of Indochina. The Central Highlands Front was a main force bloc that was the scene of mobile combat operations as well as stationary bases that served as the nuclei stimulating the development of the three arms of the military.

In order to carry out this revolutionary task, in the course of building up the armed forces of the Central Highlands, the Front(2) Party Committee and Headquarters, together with the local party organizations, gave special attention to building, developing and utilizing the strength of the single will shared by the army and the people and special attention to constantly teaching the cadres, soldiers and compatriots of the ethnic minorities in order to give them a thorough understanding of the revolutionary line of the party and the mission of the battlefield. Building strong unity between the army and people and creating the strength needed to win victory over the enemy and complete the task of liberating the Central Highlands were the political responsibility of each cadre and soldier in the armed forces and each compatriot of the ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands.

In keeping with this policy, the Front Party Committee considered one of its very important political tasks to be thoroughly implementing the nationalities policy of the party and establishing unity of all the people. The Front Party Committee attached importance to teaching cadres and soldiers that the people of the Central Highland ethnic minorities are the masters of the country and the source of the army's strength. The army is a child of the people, is born of the people and fights for them; therefore, the various party committee echelons had to teach cadres and soldiers class sentiments, teach them to love the people, to respect the compatriots of the Central Highland ethnic

minorities as members of the community of nationalities in Vietnam who share common interests and aspirations and who had the common goal of fighting the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys in order to liberate the fatherland.

Through the realities of combat and the buildup of forces, these sentiments gradually became part of the flesh and blood of every soldier and cadre of the Central Highlands armed forces. Although they were born and grew up in other parts of the country, everyone who fought in the Central Highlands truly became attached to the region and considered the Central Highlands as their home, considered the compatriots of the Central Highland ethnic minorities to be their blood relatives. Some units had many cadres and soldiers who were members of the Central Highland ethnic minorities; all of them wholeheartedly and willingly fought to liberate the Central Highlands, to liberate their compatriots from oppression, hunger, poverty and backwardness. The essence of the unity between the army and the people in the Central Highlands is the unity of the ethnic minorities. The essential requirement is to display a spirit of equality among nationalities and an attitude of love, respect and honesty in relationships with the ethnic minorities. For this reason, fully understanding and thoroughly implementing the nationalities policy of the party was an extremely important task of the people's armed forces. The Front Party Committee and Headquarters decided that the nationalities policies of the party had to be thoroughly implemented within the various units and then within the relations with the locality. Only when there was solidarity within their units could troops possess powerful fighting strength. Only when they were united with and received the assistance of the people could the armed forces stand firm and display the strength of a military bastion on the battlefield by destroying the forces of the enemy.

Throughout the process of the force buildup, the Front Party Committee and Headquarters made every effort to teach to cadres and soldiers the party's policy of unity, respect and equality among the ethnic minorities and waged a sharp struggle against every manifestation of disregard for the ethnic minorities, disregard for the locality, a lack of confidence in the local armed forces, in the cadres and compatriots of the ethnic minorities or using the circumstances of the war as an excuse to violate the traditional customs, the religious beliefs or the property of the people. Because, these incorrect attitudes usually led to ethnic jealousies and disciplinary infractions in the relations with the people, thereby causing a loss of unity, tarnishing the fine nature of the army and adversely affecting the fighting strength of the unit and the performance of the political task and the military task on the battlefield.

Through study and especially through the realities of fighting alongside the people, living with them and sharing their joys and hardships in order to carry out their political and military tasks, our cadres and soldiers came to more clearly see the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, the extraordinary energy and the boundless sacrifices of the compatriots of the Central Highland ethnic minorities in the resistance against the United States for national salvation. This had a profound impact upon the fighting spirit and will of the armed forces on the battlefield and helped to bolster the energies and the fighting determination of troops. If they did not become the true masters of the

battlefield and did not have a flesh and blood relationship with the people, our troops could not have possessed the endurance or the resiliency needed to complete the many large and complex jobs we faced on the battlefield.

At times when the locality was encountering difficulties, when the compatriots of the locality were starving and sick, our troops provided them with assistance even though they, themselves, were encountering very large difficulties. Many units voluntarily gave the people some of their food and clothing in order to share their difficulties. The examples that the cadres and soldiers of Uncle Ho set by cutting off the sleeves of their shirts, despite the mosquitoes and leeches, and gathering up every scrap of cloth in order to have clothing sewn for children deeply moved compatriots. At one time, the Front Party Committee had to take thousands of tons of rice and salt from its reserves to fight famine among the people on an emergency basis and supplied the people with tens of thousands of meters of cloth and many tons of medicine.

This strongly inspired the compatriots of the Central Highland ethnic minorities to eagerly participate in combat and combat support operations.

In cases in which difficulties were being encountered and the front command had to mobilize grain in order to launch a campaign, the people voluntarily contributed grain, sometimes as much as 70 to 80 percent of their total harvest.(3) In emergencies, when troops were engaged in combat but lacked rice and were hungry, the people of an entire district would encourage one another to subsist on forest vegetables and tubers for months on end so that all of their grain could be sent to the front to troops or used to support wounded and ill soldiers. The image of mothers carrying children through the forests and feeding them forest vegetables and tubers while carrying rice on their backs to give to troops reflected pure revolutionary sentiments, reflected the profound sense of obligation and duty between the army and the people and was worthy of the praise given by the revered Uncle Ho:

"...Thus, the army and people of the Central Highlands, the elderly and the young, men and women, ethnic Vietnamese and Montagnards alike united as one, always upheld their tradition of bravely overcoming every difficulty and hardship emulated in killing the enemy and recording feats of arms, maintained and preserved their villages and fields, recorded tremendous achievements and joined the compatriots of the entire country in winning victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors."(4)

Throughout the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the unity between the army and the people on the Central Highlands battlefield became increasingly close and the strength of the army and the people sharing a single will always played a role on the basis of unanimity concerning the line and tasks of the revolution, the task of the battlefield and the correct nationalities policy of the party.

One important principle that was implemented was that of using the unity between the Front Party Committee and the local party organizations as the foundation for uniting the army and the people. Lenin said: "The army is

built on the basis of a close relationship, a strong relationship and, it can even be said, on the basis of unity between the Soviets and the army."(5) This thinking was stressed by President Ho at the Conference on the Guerrilla War held in May, 1952. He taught: "Of utmost importance is internal unity, that is, the army, the people, the government and the party must be closely united. Every task must be thoroughly discussed, we must be united in thought and action, must help one another and sincerely practice criticism and self-criticism so that we make progress together."(6)

In the Central Highlands, the relationship between the Front Party Committee and the provincial party committees was a relationship of coordinating and cooperating in providing leadership on a battlefield that encompassed many different forces and many different relations but which was united for the purpose of carrying out the task assigned by the revolution. The solidarity and unanimity between the Front Party Committee and the local party committees were of decisive significance as regards the unity between the army and the people and had a strong effect upon the fighting morale of the armed forces on the battlefield. When performing a task, the Front Party Committee always respected the local level, always acted in the interests of the locality and actively coordinated with the locality to build and develop the local armed forces and build the bases of operation of the villages and districts. In the face of the requirements of the military and political tasks of the locality, the Front Party Committee took the initiative in launching activity drives to assist compatriots in their political struggle and uprisings to break the control and thwart the malicious schemes of the enemy to divide them and liberate their villages, towns, cities and large populated areas. The permanent deployment of main force regiments within the provinces and the deployment of frontline battalions to serve as the nucleus of operations within important areas helped to build up the local armed forces, develop the bases of operation of the villages and districts and coordinate with the local armed forces in order to intensify the people's war, participate in and stimulate the revolutionary activity movements of the locality, accelerate production, stabilize and improve the living conditions of the people in newly liberated areas, etc.

In the campaigns conducted by main force troops as well as in campaigns involving operations coordinated among the three arms of the military, all commands on the upper echelons included local components. Periodically, joint conferences were held between the Standing Committee of the Front Party Committee and the standing committees of the provincial party committees within the region or between the party committees of military units and the party committees of the villages and districts in which these units were stationed in order to review the situation, adopt unified work programs and promptly resolve problems that harmed the unity between the army and the people.

The Front Party Committee always considered the work of the locality to be its own work and always closely united with the locality, with the battlefield. This sincerity and unity spread downward to the basic units. When troops saw something that had to be done for the locality, they took the initiative, made a proposal and held discussions with the locality; when the locality agreed with them, they immediately went to work. When the locality requested

something, something that was possible, troops never refused. In the face of every difficulty being encountered by the locality, troops showed concern and shared what they had. At those times when troops themselves were encountering serious difficulties, they were still ready to unconditionally help the locality.

Conversely, the local party committee echelons always considered the military task to be not only the task of the army, but the task of all the people as well. The local party organizations constantly educated the people in order to give them a full understanding of the lines and policies of the party and encouraged the people to create every possible favorable condition for the army to complete its task, thereby making a very large contribution to maintaining local rear services for troops under the conditions of a battlefield located in treacherous mountainous forest terrain, a battlefield crossed by many swift flowing rivers and streams, a battlefield on which transportation and communications were difficult and which was far from the strategic rear area. In virtually every campaign, the opening of roads and the transportation of materiel and technical equipment to troops involved tremendous contributions by the compatriots of the Central Highland ethnic minorities. In their combat operations as well as the building of their forces, the armed forces always received wholehearted moral and material support from the party organization and people of the locality.

The realities on the Central Highlands battlefield showed us that in order to develop upon the strength of the army and the people sharing a single will for the purpose of working together to complete the task of the revolution, the army party committee echelon and the local party committee echelon must be united and in agreement, considering this to be the center of the unity between the army and the people on the battlefield. In order to establish good unity between the army party committee echelon and the local party committee echelon, between the army and the people, there must be a true spirit of fighting for the party, for the people and a loyal attitude. In addition, it is necessary to combat the thinking of partialism, localism, anarchy, false heroism, arrogance, arranging things to benefit oneself, one's unit or one's locality, etc. All of these bad habits are aspects, are shades of individualism. Therefore, in order to establish good unity, we must resolutely oppose individualism, must erase every shade of individualism.

The concretization of the line and policies of the party as well as the policy of the Front Party Committee concerning the relationship between the army and the people was carried out by the basic units. Therefore, building basic units that were strong in terms of unity between the army and the people was an essential requirement of leadership. The Front Party Committee attached importance to building basic units that were strong in terms of unity between the army and the people. At the same time, it directly guided troops in the performance of civil proselyting. As a result of the education provided by the Front Party Committee, cadres and soldiers were clearly aware of their responsibility in civilian proselyting activities, concerned themselves with helping the people in concrete, practical ways and shared a close relationship with the people based on revolutionary sentiment. Many bright examples set by troops in their civilian proselyting work left beautiful, deep impressions upon the compatriots of the Central Highland ethnic minorities. The

achievements that were recorded in the various aspects of civilian proselyting made important contributions to all the progress made in the various localities. Wherever troops of Uncle Ho were stationed, the people were united, every scheme to divide the ethnic minorities was thwarted, backward customs of the people were gradually overcome and the line and tasks of the revolution as well as the party's policy of ethnic unity were implemented.

One very important matter was that troops had to take the initiative and help the locality build itself, had to participate in the process of development and progress in all areas of the locality. During that period, the training of the corps of cadres of the Central Highland ethnic minorities was a very pressing job of the locality. Because the locality was encountering numerous difficulties, the Front Party Committee proposed guidelines and made numerous efforts: over a period of many years, it opened many schools to provide elementary and supplementary military, political and cultural training to middle and low level Central Highland ethnic minority cadres and opened formal cultural schools for the children of the ethnic minorities, thereby stimulating the literature and art movements of the locality. Within the various military units, importance was attached to boldly and quickly promoting cadres and soldiers from ethnic minorities within the locality who showed the potential for development. As a result, a component of the local armed forces grew continuously and joined the main force troops in winning victory over the enemy and ultimately totally defeating the enemy. The relations between the army and the people were relations of mutual assistance, of helping one another to develop, of uniting to win victory over the enemy, of winning victory over the enemy in order to strengthen and enhance the unity that existed. As a result of this splendid unity, the affection between the troops of B3 (the Central Highlands) and the party organization and people of the Central Highlands was very profound and very close.

The cadres and soldiers of the Central Highland armed forces were very proud to have fulfilled the teaching of the revered Uncle Ho:

"The government requires that you and your troops fully comply with its policy concerning the compatriots of the ethnic minorities... We must make every soldier a propagandist. You must act in such a way that when you arrive, you are welcomed by the compatriots of the ethnic minorities, when your troops are stationed in their locality, they willingly help you, when you leave, they miss you. Such would constitute a great victory..."(7)

Today, in order to develop upon the experiences that we recorded in the resistance against the United States for national salvation, we must further strengthen the unity and closeness between the army and the people, must achieve a common will on the part of the army and the people in order to win victory over the multi-faceted war of sabotage being conducted by the Chinese expansionists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and successfully build socialism in our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 431.

2. Hereafter referred to as the Front, H.M.T.
3. Some data and opinions excerpted from "The Review of the 20 Years of the Successful Construction and Victorious Combat of the Central Highlands Front."
4. Taken from the book: "The Central Highland People's Armed Forces in the War of Resistance Against the United States for National Salvation," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, 1980, pp 146-147.
5. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1968, Volume 29, p 68.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 523.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 527.

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CSO: 4210/8

## PROPERLY IMPLEMENTING THE CODE OF REGULATIONS CONCERNING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 45-48

[Article by Phan Trung Ly]

[Text] With a view toward strengthening the socialist state and developing the role played by the elected agencies on the basis of the new Constitution and the law on the organization of the National Assembly and the Council of State, the 7th Legislature of the National Assembly ratified the "Code of Regulations on National Assembly Deputies" during its second session.

The code consists of regulations governing the tasks and authority of National Assembly deputies and the conditions provided by the state for the activities of National Assembly deputies. These regulations are designed to help National Assembly deputies fulfill their task of representing the right of collective ownership of the people within the highest agency of power of the state.

This is the first Code of Regulations concerning National Assembly deputies. It was formulated on the basis of reviewing and gaining experience concerning the activities of the National Assembly over the past several decades. The code is not only needed by National Assembly deputies themselves, but will also make a significant contribution to deepening the understanding that society and the people have of the role and responsibility of the representatives of the people. These regulations are based on the right of socialist collective ownership of our people and on the Constitution: "Within the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, all power belongs to the people"(Article 6) and the people exercise this power through the state agencies that they elect, most directly through the representatives elected by the people.

Emphasizing the principles defined in the Constitution and the law on the organization of the National Assembly and the Council of State that pertain to National Assembly deputies, the code further defines the role of the National Assembly deputy. It states: "The National Assembly deputy is the person who represents the people within the National Assembly, which is the highest representative agency of the people and the highest agency of power of the state of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam."(Article 1)

Selected and elected by the people in accordance with the provisions of the law, National Assembly deputies have a very weighty responsibility to the people: on behalf of the people, they participate in the debate and the drafting of laws; participate in deciding the basic domestic and foreign policies of the state, economic and cultural development goals and the primary regulations concerning the organization and operation of the state apparatus and the social relations and activities of the citizen; and participate in supervising the activities of the state agencies.

As representatives of the people who are elected by the people, National Assembly deputies must assume responsibility to the electorate and, at the same time, to the National Assembly for performing their task as deputies. This is the basic difference between our National Assembly deputies and the members of bourgeois parliaments. In the capitalist countries, as soon as an election is over, bourgeois representatives immediately forget the promises they made when they were campaigning for election. They do not assume responsibility to the persons who voted for them. The Code of Regulations on the National Assembly Deputies of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam stipulates: "Any National Assembly deputy who shows himself or herself to be unworthy of the trust of the people can be removed from office before the end of his or her term by the electorate of the unit by which he or she was elected." (Article 6)

The principle guiding the activities of the National Assembly deputies is the following: they act on the basis of the common interests of the entire country while giving appropriate attention to the interests of the locality that elected them and the unit within which they work. This principle helps the National Assembly deputies to closely link their activities to each specific area of the country. In accordance with this principle, they must determine what is in the interest of the entire country and what is in the interest of a locality in order to adopt correct solutions to problems and intervene at the right place. This principle helps National Assembly deputies to act in accordance with the teaching set forth by President Ho when talking about the first National Assembly election of our country on 6 January 1946: "You must always remember and practice the following words: place the interest of the country above the interests of your family, place common interests above personal interests." (1)

In order to strengthen the activities of National Assembly deputies, the Code of Regulations stipulates various activities that are to be conducted during and between National Assembly sessions.

The most important task of the National Assembly deputies is to participate in the National Assembly sessions and make their own positive contributions to the success of these sessions. During sessions of the National Assembly, National Assembly deputies, on behalf of the people, decide important matters concerning national policy and the welfare of the people and exercise as a body the power of the National Assembly to legislate and to supervise the agencies of the state.

To reflect the will and aspirations of the people and the actual situation of the locality or unit that elected them and the place at which they work,

National Assembly deputies engage in many different forms of activity, such as expressing their opinions during the sessions of the groups and teams of the National Assembly as well as the joint sessions of the National Assembly, participating in debates and inquiries and initiating lawsuits. By properly exercising their power to conduct inquiries, National Assembly deputies make a significant contribution to protecting the interests of the people and the state so that the Council of Ministers and the members of the Council of Ministers can display an even higher degree of responsibility to the National Assembly and assist it in properly exercising its supreme supervisory authority.

In order for inquiries conducted by National Assembly deputies to have a good impact, every deputy must have a correct understanding of and properly exercise the authority of a deputy to make inquiries. The Council of Ministers and the agencies of the state must carefully study and respond in a full and timely manner to inquiries made by National Assembly deputies in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Emphasizing the authority of the National Assembly deputies to supervise the implementation of the law by state agencies and mass organizations, the Code of Regulations states: "When they discover actions that violate the law and harm the interests of the state, the collective or the citizen, National Assembly deputies have the authority to request that the concerned agencies of the state and responsible persons take the necessary measures to promptly halt these violations of the law." Once they have received the opinions of National Assembly deputies, concerned state agencies have the responsibility of taking prompt steps to meet these requirements and must notify National Assembly deputies of the results achieved by them.

One of the important standards for evaluating the activities of the National Assembly deputies is the relationship between a National Assembly deputy and the electorate. In order to determine whether or not a National Assembly deputy is truly representing the people and is voicing the aspirations of the people within the highest agency of power of the state, it is first of all necessary to examine the relationship between the National Assembly deputy and the people. In this spirit, the code states: "National Assembly deputies must maintain a close relationship with the electorate, are under the electorate's supervision with regard to meeting with and reporting to the electorate on their activities and those of the National Assembly and must respond to the requests and proposals of the electorate." (Article 4) National Assembly deputies meet with the electorate for the purposes of assessing the opinions and aspirations of the people in order to promptly express them during the sessions of the National Assembly, reporting to the electorate the results of National Assembly sessions and the resolutions recently adopted by the National Assembly and disseminating laws to the people. On the other hand, during these meetings, National Assembly deputies report to the electorate on their activities and the activities of the National Assembly. On this basis, the electorate is able to supervise and evaluate the activities of their National Assembly deputies. For the same purpose, periodically or when requested by the electorate, National Assembly deputies report on their work to the electorate, especially to the organization that nominated them for election on behalf of the people: the agency of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

On the basis of respecting the right of ownership of the people and in order to establish a closer relationship between National Assembly deputies and the electorate, the Code of Regulations clearly defines the responsibility of National Assembly deputies with regard to receiving the public. According to the code, each delegation of deputies must establish an office at which to receive the public and assign deputies to regularly receive the public, learn about their aspirations, accept proposals, complaints and denunciations from the people and answer their questions and concerns regarding the laws and policies of the state. In actuality, many National Assembly delegations have begun to put the receiving of the public on a regular basis, thereby helping to meet the legitimate requirements of the people. Life demands that the receiving of the public be effectively organized and be conducted in many different ways. Depending upon the specific situation, National Assembly deputies can receive the public in the public office of the headquarters of their delegation or receive the public at their homes or in "mobile public offices." Regardless of the place, the receiving of the public must be effectively organized, must avoid being an activity in name only and absolutely must not blur the true meaning of the receiving of the public by National Assembly deputies.

In order for the receiving of the public to achieve good results, the National Assembly delegations and National Assembly deputies themselves must, besides scheduling hours to receive the public, take the initiative and meet with concerned agencies in order to keep themselves abreast of the situation and arrange for action upon complaints. If this action is unsatisfactory or taken slowly, National Assembly deputies have the authority to request that the head of the concerned agency on the upper level examine and correctly resolve the complaint by the prescribed deadline. The situation at several localities has shown that the complaints of the people are resolved relatively promptly if, after they receive the public, National Assembly delegations work directly with the local people's committee and the concerned sectors on each specific case and job. In this way, National Assembly deputies directly fulfill their task and help the localities and agencies fully comply with the law that has been promulgated concerning examining and acting upon the complaints and denunciations of the people.

Receiving the public and meeting with the electorate are indispensable activities of National Assembly deputies. They are the form of activity that determine the effectiveness of the activities of the National Assembly deputies and are the important link between state agencies and the people. Receiving the public and meeting with the electorate also help National Assembly deputies to keep abreast of the situation surrounding the implementation of the programs and policies of the party and the laws of the state and contribute, in a considerable way, to truly making the National Assembly a body that makes legislation and takes action.

An important portion of the code consists of the regulations concerning the conditions provided by the state to support the activities of National Assembly deputies. These regulations are designed to help National Assembly deputies avoid all external impediments when engaged in activities. National Assembly deputies may not be arrested or detained without the consent of the National Assembly or the consent of the Council of State when the National

Assembly is not in session; they may not be dismissed from or forced to leave their jobs, demoted or subjected to other forms of disciplinary action without the consent of the Council of State; persons who impede National Assembly deputies in the performance of their task will be prosecuted under the law.

In order for National Assembly deputies to complete their task, it is important that the various agencies and mass organizations as well as each citizen understand and comply with the regulations contained within the code, thereby creating favorable conditions for National Assembly deputies to perform their work and favorable conditions for supervising the activities of National Assembly deputies.

The entire Code of Regulations reflects the respect that the state and society have for the representatives of the people. By properly implementing the articles of the Constitution and the law, in general, and the Code of Regulations concerning National Assembly deputies, in particular, we will make a significant contribution to performing one of the important tasks set forth by the 5th Congress of the VCP: "We must endeavor to insure that the National Assembly, which is the highest organ of state power, truly fulfills its role in drafting laws, determining matters of major importance in state affairs and supervising the activities of the government agencies on the central level." To accomplish this, National Assembly deputies "must fulfill the responsibilities and exercise the authority defined in regulations, maintain close and regular relations with the electorate, promptly report the opinions and aspirations of the people to state agencies and insure that the correct opinions of the people are rapidly accepted and implemented."(2)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. CUU QUOC Newspaper, No 134, 5 January 1946.
2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 62.

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## PHU LOI THUONG BUILDS THE NEW COUNTRYSIDE AND THE NEW LIFE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83, pp 49-53

[Article by Truc Giang]

[Text] Phu Loi Thuong is a small hamlet in An Dinh Village, Mo Cay District, Ben Tre Province, which measures less than 10 square kilometers and consists of 225 houses. In June, 1979, this hamlet established a production collective which is now the leader of the province's agricultural cooperativization movement.

The fields of Phu Loi Thuong were once acidic, saline and swampy throughout the year; there were only 550 square meters of field per capita and only one, low yield rice crop, a summer-fall crop, could be raised each year.

When it embarked on collectivization, Phu Loi Thuong, like many other places, could not avoid encountering many difficulties and obstacles; in particular, the 1979-1980 winter-spring rice crop was a complete failure as a result of being inundated by salt water, thereby making the material lives of the people there increasingly difficult and the situation surrounding the thinking of farmers increasingly complex. However, as a result of the party organization and government of the village and the hamlet party chapter providing leadership, encouragement and assistance in many areas, the Phu Loi Thuong production collective gradually began making steady progress. Today, the economic life of the hamlet is stable and on a momentum of development. Rice yields rose from 2.2 tons per hectare in 1979 to 10 tons in 1981 and grain output increased by more than 5 times; in 1981, the average farm laborer produced 1,580 kilograms of grain and farmers contributed 1.2 tons of paddy under obligations to the state for every hectare of farmland; and per capita income within the agricultural population rose from 96 kilograms of paddy in 1979 to 281 kilograms in 1981.

The Phu Loi Thuong production collective has not only made good use of its labor and arable land by focusing its efforts on practicing intensive cultivation in order to raise the yield and output of grain, but has also charted a correct course by initiating specialized farming and establishing an integrated business with a view toward developing livestock production, developing the processing of products and expanding the various sectors and

trades within the hamlet, thereby creating sources of capital with which to accelerate production. The output value of the various sectors and trades (sugar processing, rice milling, the production of fish sauce and so forth) equals 65 percent of the value of crops produced. The fixed assets of the collective have increased in value from only 800 dong when the collective was first established to 404,936 dong (based on original prices) in April, 1982.

The few figures presented above prove that the production and the economic life of the Phu Loi Thuong production collective are developing in an encouraging manner. Another striking feature of Phu Loi Thuong is the beautiful changes that have occurred in the thinking, the culture and the social behavior of the people of this hamlet.

Today, Phu Loi Thuong is a living picture of a rural area which earns its living collectively that is not only skilled in production, but is also beautifully culturally and spiritually. "Show full concern for improving the cultural life of the countryside"--the cadres and party members of Phu Loi Thuong correctly understand and are making every effort to implement this directive of the 5th Party Congress.

Phu Loi Thuong Hamlet was under the rule of feudalists and colonialists for many years. Following liberation day, bad customs were still rather widely practiced within the hamlet and there were many remnants of the backward and reactionary thinking and culture of the old society. Some 60 percent of the people within the hamlet were illiterate. Not one cadre or party member had completed level I general school. There was not one public health facility within the hamlet. The majority of its families lived in unsanitary conditions. The laboring people were still heavily influenced by all sorts of ridiculous spiritual beings. The reading of horoscopes, the worshipping of cards, witchcraft and so forth were widespread practices. Youths had absurd styles of dress and lived debauched lives; some were professional thieves and muggers. Gambling was rampant. Continuous drunkenness both day and night led to quarrels and fights that upset the entire hamlet. These social ills not only caused a general lack of order and security, but also posed many obstacles to the process of establishing the new production relations and reorganizing production in Phu Loi Thuong.

In the face of this social situation, the Phu Loi Thuong Hamlet Party Chapter realized as soon as it began to establish a production collective that the teaching of ideology within the party chapter itself as well as the mobilization of the mass of farmers to begin earning their livings collectively had to be closely linked to cultural and social activities in order to help each family and each citizen quickly break the spiritual ties of the old system.

The ideological work performed by the Phu Loi Thuong Hamlet Party Chapter has always been based on the specific stage of development of the production collective. In the process of Phu Loi Thuong's establishment of a production collective, the programs and policies regarding agricultural cooperativization were thoroughly disseminated in a manner closely linked to gaining a deeper understanding of and patiently trying to resolve the problems of each category of persons, each family. At the same time, internal mistakes were criticized

in a resolute but very sensitive manner conforming with both reason and sentiment in order to persuade everyone. Therefore, as soon as the Phu Loi Thuong production collective was established, it absorbed 85 percent of the hamlet's farmers, including many families of middle farmers, who joined voluntarily. In the face of major challenges, such as the loss of an entire crop, the party chapter and management board maintained everyone's confidence by admitting to their shortcomings in leading and guiding production and developing effective guidelines and measures for overcoming the difficulties being faced. In 3 years, the production collective, which consists of only 272 laborers, mobilized 10,732 mandays to reorganize all the hamlet's fields and build other material bases; in particular, 6,656 mandays were volunteered and not included in the number of mandays counted for distribution purposes. The establishment and development of a number of sectors and trades have also been the results of capital pooled by the members of the collective.

When the rice output of the Phu Loi Thuong production collective soared from 39.6 tons in 1979 to 216.5 tons in 1981, many farm families who had an adequate supply of rice began thinking about "keeping one foot on the inside and one on the outside." The party chapter and management board closely observed and correctly evaluated the changes in the thinking of each type household in order to promptly correct and remold their thinking. At the same time, the plan for developing sectors, trades and an integrated business coupled with reorganizing and redistributing labor in an efficient manner was formulated and implemented, with the result that additional products were produced and the income of collective members was increased.

Deserving of attention is the fact that the ideological work performed by the Phu Loi Thuong Hamlet Party Chapter in the recent past has regularly been closely linked to guiding the effort to achieve the goals set forth in the economic-living conditions plan of the production collective, namely, gradually meeting the minimum needs of the people for food, shelter, education, health care, relaxation and entertainment. These are not easy goals for a production collective that has only been in existence for a short while to achieve. However, the Phu Loi Thuong production collective has made many major efforts and recorded a number of fine, initial achievements in its cultural and social work during the past 2 years.

As soon as the Phu Loi Thuong production collective was established, a cultural-living conditions committee of the collective chaired by an assistant head of the collective was organized and tasked with guiding and encouraging farmers to actively respond to the reorganization of production through scientific-technical measures while encouraging everyone to participate in establishing the new and wholesome cultural life. Fourteen cultural-living conditions groups are also operating in the various areas of the hamlet.

Above everything else, Phu Loi Thuong has attached very much importance to raising the cultural level of the people. Illiteracy was quickly wiped out within the hamlet. Some 99 percent of school age children now attend school. A kindergarten is attended by 42 of the more than 50 kindergarten age children within the hamlet. Supplementary education has been given particular attention in order to help cadres and party members learn knowledge of agricultural science and technology and improve the quality of production

planning and management. The study of culture has become an indispensable responsibility of all cadres and party members. The public welfare fund of the production collective pays for all educational costs. Teachers are paid for each time they teach. Students who are promoted at the end of the school year receive an award of 20 kilograms of paddy. A special class is held twice each week for core cadres who are usually very busy with many public jobs. During the 1980-1981 school year, 100 percent of the cadres and party members in Phu Loi Thuong attended supplementary education classes. The cadres of the production collective's management board, who previously had not completed 2nd grade, are now in the 5th grade of the 12 year educational system. As a result of their studies and learning from radio programs, books and newspapers, these cadres have displayed increasing skill in applying advanced technical measures in production. The recent construction of a reading room has created better conditions for increasing the overall knowledge of the members of the collective and the youths of the hamlet.

The Phu Loi Thuong production collective has also concerned itself with providing farmers with health care. In the past, residents of the hamlet who required a medical examination had to travel a long distance or find a private physician to treat them, which was very costly and affected their standard of living and production by more than a small amount. In May, 1982, a three person public health team and a four bed treatment station were established and begun providing rather good services. The capital needed to build the station and purchase public health implements was contributed by the members of the collective: at first, 4,000 dong were contributed; this capital has now increased by more than 10 times. Efficacious treatment is provided by coordinating Western medical science and Eastern medical science; in many cases, serious and dangerous diseases have been cured. Members of the collective receive a 25 percent discount on medicine compared to persons outside the collective; persons who are poor receive medicine free of charge. Vaccinations are administered to the residents of the hamlet three times each year. In particular, the health of women is closely checked and maintained when they are menstruating or pregnant. The entire hamlet has implemented the practice of eating cooked food and drinking boiled water; 80 percent of the hamlet's households have bathhouses and privies. The raising of livestock in pens in order to maintain sanitation and annually supply several dozens tons of fertilizer for fields has helped to raise crop yields.

The raising of the cultural level and the protection of the health of the people have created additional conditions for promoting literary, cultural and sport activities. Many programs that have been written and performed by Phu Loi Thuong farmers with the enthusiastic participation of elders have helped to make life within the hamlet happier and more exciting.

As it has begun to introduce the new culture in the daily lives of the people, Phu Loi Thuong has not relaxed its efforts in the struggle against the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture and the bad customs within the hamlet.

The lack of order and security could not be allowed to continue in a small hamlet such as Phu Loi Thuong, where there was an average of 10 cases of assault, theft and robbery each month. All delinquent youths were assembled by the government and mass organizations in order to be re-educated. The

production collective provided jobs for them and gradually turned them into laborers; some have become soldiers who are fulfilling their international obligation well. Today, there are virtually no cases of theft within the hamlet. The property, paddy, rice and machinery of the production collective are no longer being lost.

Drunkenness, which once appeared to be a social ill that could not be cured, has been basically resolved. The hamlet once had as many as 13 stills and annually consumed about 46,800 liters of rice wine or glutinous rice wine; alcoholics consumed as many as 3,900 liters of wine each month. Drunkenness gave rise to many bad habits and caused a breakdown of order and security. Determined to put an end to alcoholism, cadres and party members thoroughly implemented the program of the party chapter and production collective: they set examples by destroying wine stills and, by the end of 1981, no one within the production collective was making wine. Cadres have worked closely with alcoholics, trying to resolve their concerns, stabilize their thinking and persuade them to stop drinking while providing them with jobs consistent with their ability to work. The love and sense of responsibility of the collective have helped them to undergo marked change; some persons have become skilled laborers or production chiefs of the collective.

The atmosphere surrounding collective labor has become intense and the interests of the laborer are being cared for better with each passing day. As a result, there is no longer the problem of people within the hamlet being so engrossed in gambling that they stop working for a living. A campaign that was conducted to eradicate superstitions put an end to the widespread practices of card reading and sorcery. The secret organizing of card worshipping sessions, seances and so forth have been promptly exposed and stopped by the people. Of importance is the fact that the farmers of Phu Loi Thuong have, in the face of the fine results that have been achieved with the economy and their living conditions, grown increasingly close to their collective organization and no longer blindly believe in fate and gods.

The new, wholesome life has brought closeness and unity to the relations among the families of Phu Loi Thuong Hamlet; no longer are these relations characterized by conflict and animosity. Within the production collective, sharing and mutual help are practiced. More than 1.5 tons of paddy have been supplied in the form of a loan to poor families; help is also provided to families in which someone has given birth, someone is ill, or someone has died. The concern, care and heartfelt assistance provided by the production collective have resulted in 100 percent of the households within the hamlet voluntarily joining collective production and enthusiastically fulfilling every obligation to the state.

The realities of the spiritual life of Phu Loi Thuong today show that marked changes have occurred in the thinking, the feelings, the style of work, the lifestyle and the relations of the various strata of people within the hamlet. Everyone respects that which is right, loves that which is just, lives an honest life and unites with and loves everyone else. Clearly, Phu Loi Thuong has begun to create a new countryside, one that has a beautiful lifestyle and beautiful relations between one person and another. The citizens of Phu Loi Thuong have gradually become the masters of society, the masters of nature and

the masters of themselves and are living a wholesome and comfortable life in an atmosphere of equality and harmony; they are joining efforts in productive labor in order to gradually improve their living conditions and make increasing contributions to the cause of building and defending the country.

Every step that has been taken by the Phu Loi Thuong production collective toward victory has been closely linked to the direct leadership and guidance provided by the village party committee and the party chapter within the hamlet. The positive activities conducted by the chapters of the Youth Union and the Women's Union have made important contributions to stimulating the development of the production collective.

The situation at Phu Loi Thuong also shows that it is impossible to establish a strong production collective that has a rather fully developed life without building a corps of basic level cadres who possess good political qualities, who know their job and perform it in a competent manner. In fact, there is a movement for every type of cadre. It can be very readily seen that the corps of cadres and core cadres of Phu Loi Thuong is fully concerned with the living conditions of the laboring people; these cadres consider building and developing the economy and the culture in order to improve the living conditions of the people to be their goal, their responsibility. In the face of difficulties and challenges, cadres and party members have displayed patience and perseverance, have thought about, studied and looked for guidelines and measures that would enable them to make progress. Because they firmly adhere to the line and policies of the party, know how to organize production, always set good examples in labor and are pure and honest in their daily lives, cadres have won the increasing respect of the people of the hamlet and have united with and encouraged them to eagerly follow the course of earning their livings collectively.

With such a contingent of core cadres, Phu Loi Thuong will surely travel farther down the path of earning a collective living and building the new, socialist countryside.

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## THE IMPERIALISTS AND REACTIONARIES CANNOT REVERSE THE SITUATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 54-60

[Book Review by Pham Xuyen]

[Text] In recent years and at present, the policy of the U.S. imperialists of pursuing the arms race and creating a tense situation in coordination with the attempts to provoke "rebellion" in the world by the disciples of Chinese expansionism and hegemony have caused the world situation to deteriorate. World peace is seriously threatened. In the process of moving forward, the socialist countries have also encountered a certain number of difficulties.

Taking advantage of this situation, the propaganda machinery of the imperialists and the international reactionaries has been working hard to convince everyone that socialism is declining, that the world revolution is declining (!). Against this background, the publication of the collection of books written by Le Duan entitled "The World Situation and Our Foreign Policy" is of very important significance. This valuable collection also provides us with a basic and correct understanding of the development of the world situation during the past decade and at present. Firmly adhering to the stand of Marxism-Leninism and effectively applying dialectical materialism, Le Duan comprehensively examines the new situation and points out: "The main characteristic of the present world situation is that the three revolutionary currents of our times, which are closely linked to one another, have been and are in a stronger offensive position than they have ever been before"\*(p. 203). And, "imperialism and Chinese expansionism cannot change the direction of development of the revolution and the cause of peace"(p. 192).

At the very outset, this collection of books raises a very important and basic issue. In 1950, when the imperialists were looking for ways to return many places in the world to the status of colonies, when the "cold war" was dominating the international atmosphere, Le Duan, who was on the partitioned and surrounded battlefield of Nam Bo at the time, proposed to our party a number of important ideas as it prepared for the 2nd Congress. He said: after World War II, some persons observed that the world situation would revert to the "law" of the situation that existed following World War I: capitalism would consolidate and stabilize its position in preparation for a new world war; the revolution would ebb, consolidate and defend itself and

wait for an opportunity! In truth, however, "there really has not been any detente of the kind previously experienced in the world"(p. 8); "the proletarian revolution had to seize the initiative, had to use its superior position to attack the capitalist world"(p. 8). This viewpoint is defined at the very outset as "a policy of peace attacking the warmongers"(p. 9). He maintains that the peaceful coexistence between the two opposing social systems is, in essence, not detente (that is, reaching compromise in order to await opportunity) but "has involved opposing the warmongering schemes of the U.S. and British imperialists"(p. 9). During the 1960's and 1970's, this fact was very clearly evident in the dialectical relationship between accelerating the revolutionary struggle and safeguarding world peace.

Also on the basis of the viewpoint presented above, Le Duan points out that the Vietnamese revolution's resistance against the French was not only the result of the war against fascism, but was also "the starting point of the developing world revolutionary high tide, was a component of the proletarian revolutionary movement that was continuously attacking capitalism in order to destroy it"(p. 9).

The strategic offensive position of the world revolution following World War II has been proven correct by the realities of the past 40 years. Mankind has taken long strides down the path of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.

Evaluating the world situation in general, Le Duan writes: "The development of socialism from the scope of one country into a world system and its continuous spread across our planet; the powerful growth of the national liberation movement, which led to the total collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the birth of scores of independent nations; the strong development of the working class in the capitalist countries through a wide variety of forms of struggle for democracy and socialism; the fact that imperialism has become increasingly weak and deeply mired in a general crisis from which there is no escape; and the fundamental change in the balance of power in the direction of continuously consolidating and strengthening the offensive strategic position and power of the three revolutionary currents in the world--these comprise the complete picture of the principal developments in the world since the October Revolution"(p. 126). All of these observations are still entirely correct.

Today, the world socialist system encompasses many countries on many continents. Pointing out the superior nature of socialism in the evolution of mankind, Le Duan writes: "The communist civilization is becoming more clearly defined with each passing day within the socialist system and constantly spreading its light throughout our planet. Here, there is no exploitation of man by man, no racial discrimination or oppression of nationalities, no economic crises, no unemployment, hunger, lack of education, etc. There are totally new social relations between one person and another, relations of democracy, equality, cooperation and mutual help in the spirit of comradeship, friendship and brotherhood. Each step forward by society creates increasingly favorable and full conditions for the free and comprehensive development of the character of man, for the continuous enhancement of man's happiness, dignity and right to be the master"(pp. 140-141). By developing upon the

beautiful nature of the new system and applying the achievements of the intense scientific-technological revolution that has been underway since the end of World War II, the world socialist system has become more powerful than ever before and is playing the role of the factor determining the trend of development of history in the new age. Its strength is not only evident in the beautiful and stable life of its people, but also in the fact that it has defeated many of the warmongering schemes and actions of the U.S. imperialists and the international reactionaries, maintained world peace and made the trend toward moderation an irreversible trend. This strength is also evident in the increasingly effective support and assistance provided to the revolutionary and progressive movements of the world. Under the tremendous impact of the world socialist system, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union, a new situation developed, namely, "the outbreak of revolutions not linked to the outbreak of world wars"(p. 72).

The strongest outbreak of revolution in the period since World War II occurred within the system of colonies of imperialism. The national liberation movement became an historic event, one second in importance only to the formation of the world socialist system. It has further reduced the scope and the market of capitalism, exacerbated the inherent antagonisms of capitalism and pushed capitalism into an increasingly serious general crisis. As Le Duan points out: "The offensive power of the national liberation movement is extremely strong and its impact has been extremely large, so large that it seriously threatens the rear area of imperialism and has created the conditions for the socialist revolution to expand throughout the world. This is a new characteristics, a new capability of our times"(p. 27). "The salient characteristic of the national liberation movement is that workers and farmers have awakened and are playing an increasingly decisive role among national liberation forces"(p. 27). He confirms: "Today, national independence absolutely must be coupled with socialism"(pp. 28-29). The fact is that many countries have selected the socialist path after winning their national independence. Of course, in order to follow this path, "The keys are that the revolution must develop in accordance with the great thinking of Marxism-Leninism, the working class must assume leadership of the revolution and the state government must be a true national, democratic government. Every other kind of "socialism" is nothing more than revisionist capitalism in disguise and is dependent upon one imperialist power or another, especially the U.S. imperialists"(p. 29). Today, the national liberation movement is entering a new stage. Old style colonialism has virtually been destroyed and neo-colonialism was dealt a serious blow by the defeat of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. The countries of the non-aligned movement are coordinating in the struggle against imperialism, the struggle to abolish all forms of colonialism and complete their political and economic independence.

In the developed capitalist countries, the struggle being waged by the working class has reached new levels of development. The scientific-technological revolution brought economic development to the capitalist countries in the 1960's but the narrow framework of capitalist production relations rapidly restricted the development of production forces and caused crises of a cyclical as well as a non-cyclical nature. The rapid spread of state monopolistic capitalism has failed to save capitalism. The leaders of the monopolistic capitalists have sought to overcome the crisis they face by

intensifying the exploitation of the working class and laboring people, pursuing the arms race and preparing for war. As a result, their social antagonisms have become increasingly profound.

The struggles waged by the working class and the other strata of workers are more widespread than ever before and have assumed a wide variety of forms. Le Duan points out: "The class struggle against the exploitation by the monopolistic capitalists and the heavy burden of the economic crisis, against the arms race policy of ruling circles and for peace, democracy and vital daily rights is attracting the widespread participation of manual and mental laborers. It is attacking international capitalism within their very stronghold, thereby opening new prospects for the revolution. The political position of many communist parties has been consolidated and strengthened. There is a clear difference between the revolution and revisionism. Democratic socialism and the other revisionist trends have gradually become bankrupt in the face of the acute crisis of the capitalist system and increasingly sharp social conflicts"(pp. 193-194).

Le Duan's collection of books also discusses a pressing issue of a strategic nature today: peace. He states: "Struggling for peace is a pressing task of all mankind"(p. 73). Peace is the essence of socialism and the aspiration of all nations. To the contrary, war is the essence of aggressive imperialism. In the struggle to resolve the question of "who triumphs over whom" that exists between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale, the imperialists constantly want to use war to destroy socialism, to strangle the independence of other nations, to oppose the democratic freedoms of the laboring people at home, to broaden the scope of exploitation and to resolve their economic crisis. As soon as World War II ended, the imperialists, especially the United States, began making preparations for a new world war. However, the three intense revolutionary currents that developed following the war posed major obstacles to them. The United States lost its superiority in nuclear weapons and the emergence of space missile technology upset the military strategy of the U.S. imperialists. The destructive power of nuclear war is formidable and the United States no longer lies outside the scope of destruction as it did during the previous two world wars. Therefore, the possibility of preventing a new world war in circumstances in which imperialism still exists is a real possibility and, as Le Duan says, "Peace is not only the result of the democratic anti-war movement, it is chiefly the result of the revolutionary struggle waged by all forces against imperialism, of the offensive strategy of gradually repulsing and overturning one component of imperialism at a time, thwarting each and every policy of war, defeating every type of war unleashed by the imperialists and eventually defeating their entire policy of unleashing wars"(pp. 107-108). As a result, "the struggle for peace is the struggle to achieve a stable peace in a life of true independence and democracy:(p. 59).

The past 37 years have been 37 years during which world peace has been maintained and 37 years during which the forces of revolution have recorded victories of unprecedented brilliance, 37 years during which the imperialists, especially the U.S. imperialists have suffered bitter defeats and lost one position after another. The revolution has continuously won victory at one place or another, even in the "backyard" of the U.S. imperialists. The

struggle for peace today, therefore, has assumed a new character: "The struggle for peace and the safeguarding of peace are not only a movement of a democratic nature, but are also a revolutionary task of very important strategic significance"(p. 73).

The war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists against the Vietnamese was part of their global strategy to oppose peace, national independence and socialism. Our people won victory over them. Following the victory of Vietnam, a new period in the development of the revolution began; the ability to safeguard world peace has been strengthened. Here, we see the oneness between the task of maintaining world peace and the task of accelerating the revolution. Le Duan points out: "The final victory of that sacred war of resistance not only represented a very large leap forward by the Vietnamese revolution, but also constituted a very positive contribution to strengthening the position of the world revolution and world peace"(p. 79).

It is this oneness of the noble goals of our times--peace, national independence, democracy and socialism--and the unity of the three revolutionary currents and the widespread peace movement in the world that have formed a combined strength, one that is attacking from every direction, in every field and by every means possible in order to gradually repulse, overturn one component at a time and eventually totally defeat imperialism; it is the "foundation of the strategy of the world revolution, a truly effective strategy that has been and is being implemented through the very large victories that have been won since World War II"(p. 142). The goals of our times are not contradictory in any way. To separate these goals from each other or even place them in opposition to one another is to divorce ourselves from Marxism-Leninism, is to fall victim to the worst kind of opportunism. In early 1980, Le Duan stated: "Firmly adhering to the goals of our times, the socialist countries united with the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world will surely defeat each scheme of the imperialists and international reactionaries. Progressive mankind, which is entering the new decade with unprecedented strength and prospects brighter than ever before, will surely win even larger victories in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism"(p. 197).

The strong development of the three revolutionary currents and the decline of imperialism have occurred in exact accordance with the objective laws governing the development of mankind. However, this development, of course, has not followed a perfectly straight course. At certain times and places, due to certain conditions and circumstances, the revolution has stopped moving forward and even slipped backward. Generally speaking, however, for nearly 40 years, as Le Duan observes, "the world has witnessed one earth-shattering event after another that prove that the three revolutionary currents are surging forward and cannot be stopped"(p. 215).

In contrast, "the complete opposite of the bright situation and the brilliant future of the forces of revolution and progress is the bleak picture of imperialism and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists"(p. 215). One need only to remember that the U.S. capitalists were the rulers of the world capitalist system following the war to see how weak they have become, to see how severely polarized the capitalist world is today. Because of the prospect

that capitalism might perish, the U.S. imperialists have insanely counter-attacked the revolution, created a tense situation and made preparations for war. And, what has caused the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles to reveal themselves as reactionaries and openly collaborate with the imperialists in opposing the revolution if not the victories of the world revolution? Of course, we cannot give light attention to the schemes and activities of the U.S. imperialists, who are intensifying the arms race for very sinister purposes, nor can we relax our vigilance in the face of Sino-American collaboration. Le Duan points out: "The collaboration of the Beijing reactionaries with imperialism for the purpose of opposing the Soviet Union, Vietnam and the other socialist countries, opposing the revolutionary movement and world peace is the salient characteristic of the present international situation"(p. 191). The evil betrayal by the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles and the fact that the U.S. imperialists are "playing the China card" have made the world situation increasingly complex and dangerous. The struggle for the noble goals of our times is in a difficult and decisive period.

However, this fully criminal collaboration between the United States and China is "the joining of the weak positions of forces that are in the midst of serious crisis; it is a collaboration that is replete with antagonisms, a collaboration that involves many separate but contradictory ambitions and the desire to use each other in a vain attempt to become ruler of the world"(pp. 191-192). Therefore, we are fully confident that "nations struggling to liberate themselves and build the new life along socialist lines is the inevitable trend of history. Today, socialism is invincible. The socialist system cannot be broken. No malicious scheme, no impetuous action of the imperialists and their lackeys can reverse this situation"(pp. 215-216).

The Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution. The people of Vietnam are always conscious of the closeness, the unity between their national responsibility and their international obligation. Le Duan points out: "As soon as it was born, our party established the task of uniting with the international proletariat, with the revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonial countries, considering this to be a very important task, a matter of principle and one of the factors determining the success of our country's revolution. This correct international line of the party, which has been thoroughly implemented throughout the course of the revolution, has won the increasing support and assistance of the world revolutionary movement; on the other hand, it has taught to our people the pure sentiments of proletarian internationalism, has combated the nationalist viewpoints of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and has thwarted the cunning devisive tricks of the imperialists and their lackeys; at the same time, it has inspired our people to endeavor to make positive contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world"(p. 45).

As they have become increasingly proud of their contributions to the world revolution, the Vietnamese have never forgotten that their victories have been closely linked to the wholehearted support and the tremendous assistance provided by their brothers and friends throughout the world, primarily by the Soviet Union, and closely linked to the militant solidarity they share with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

Marxism-Leninism demands that communists know how to closely link their country's revolution to the world revolution in order to achieve additional strength, insure the victory of their country's revolution and help to increase the strength of the world revolution; on the other hand, they must support the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world in every way possible. These are the two fundamental elements of proletarian internationalism. Le Duan confirms: "The Vietnam Communist Party is determined to forever correctly comply with the brilliant thinking of Lenin concerning internationalism and do everything it possibly can for its country's revolution while supporting in every way possible the revolutionary struggle in all countries"(p. 142).

The Vietnamese revolution has been developing within the common offensive strategic posture of the world revolution. Although we still face many difficulties, the situation is basically one of advantages in our favor. Our people are determined to stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of the great Soviet Union and the peoples of the other fraternal countries in the world socialist community, strengthen our militant alliance with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, always unite with and support the struggle of the people of all countries against imperialism and the international reactionaries and firmly maintain the revolution's advance. Le Duan confirms: "By uniting and joining ranks under the ever victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we will surely win many new and more brilliant victories for the cause of national independence, socialism and the strengthening of peace!"(p. 216).

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* The passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers within parentheses are taken from Le Duan's work: "The World Situation and Our Foreign Policy," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981.

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## ESTABLISHING SOCIALIST RELATIONS BETWEEN ONE PERSON AND ANOTHER

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[Article by Phong Chau]

[Text] Karl Marx wrote: "Man is essentially the embodiment of all social relations."<sup>(1)</sup> It is this characteristic that sets man apart from the animals.

In life in society, whether a person is old fashioned or new is always seen in his relations with others. Therefore, it is necessary to gradually cultivate good socialist inter-personal relations on the part of each person, each family, each agency collective and society as a whole.

The handling of inter-personal relations is frequently a simple, easy matter but, just as frequently, it is a matter involving pain, one that causes persons to not eat and to lose sleep. In life, there are countless cases in which thoughtless or quick-tempered actions have caused fortunes to be lost and families to be destroyed, impulsive and impetuous actions have led to lifelong regret, blind actions have led to imprisonment, etc. A rude word, insincere behavior or an impolite action is sometimes enough to cause the loss of a loved one, a friend or a relative, enough to cause two persons to not want to see each other again or not be at home at the same time. Conversely, correct and wise actions bring happiness to others and bring praise and a good reputation to one's entire family, to the country.

### I. The Relations That We Have With Others

Man has thousands of inter-personal relations. The same person can play very many different roles. In the family, he can be the grandfather of several grandchildren, the father of three children, the father-in-law of two sons-in-law, etc. At work, he can be the chief of an office, the subordinate of a department chief, a party member, a Trade Union member, a self-defense commander, etc. On the streets, he is the familiar customer of the barber, the vendor who sells noodles and beef on the corner, etc. He handles each of these inter-personal relations differently. He speaks to his grandchildrer and other children differently than he speaks to his superiors when reporting

to them and differently than he speaks in conversations conducted at the vendor's stand.

Of the various social relations, those that we notice most are the inter-personal relations in production. The private thoughts, the feeling, the aspirations and the dreams of man are usually very closely associated with a given set of production relations, that is, very closely associated with a given type of ownership of the instruments of production, with the position occupied by man in production, with the system by which products are distributed.

In our country, because we are in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, many different economic segments and many different kinds of production relations still exist. As a result, besides the economic relations that exist among workers, it is also only natural that exploitative relations still exist to some degree. However, these exploitative relations have been held within certain limits from the very outset and will, in the end, be completely abolished when the socialist transformation of the economy has been completed.

In addition to production relations, inter-personal relations exist in many other fields: culture, philosophy, aesthetics, the law, society, politics, ideology, sentiments and so forth. Often relations are of a very complex dual nature encompassing both family feelings and strict legal relations.

In inter-personal relations, it is first of all necessary to have a clear understanding of the relations between ourselves and the enemy. Our relations with class enemies are antagonist relations. We must be very alert and vigilant against the enemy and not fall victim to the malicious schemes or listen to the lies, the deceptions or the enticements of the imperialists, of the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys. We must remember and make sure that our grandchildren remember their crimes!

The crimes committed by the imperialist aggressors against our country can be seen immediately around us and even on our own bodies. Within each family in the North as well as the South, there are many wounds that have not healed. There is much that the graves of the war dead want to tell us. The products of the United States, the products of Beijing are truly beautiful but how can they gloss over their crimes? Although they were driven from our country, their hostile thinking remains here; lackeys of theirs are still in our country; they are causing difficulties for us in many fields, taking advantage of our poverty and distorting, discrediting and undermining the revolution.

Within our society, socialist relations have been established between one laborer and another and among the nationalities within the country and the world socialist community. These are relations of comrades, colleagues, friends and brothers.

If we examine each nationality, each class, each stratum and each individual, we find that, besides general traits, each has tricks that are special. The Tay ethnic minority has a different lifestyle than the Thai ethnic minority and the ethnic Vietnamese are not accustomed to living in highland areas as

the Dao are. The intellectual does not live the same kind of life that a manual worker or farmer does. These differences are due to differences in working conditions, education, income, consumption patterns, disposition, habits and so forth. Developed socialism, which opens tremendous capabilities, will gradually abolish social differences so that ethnic groups are equal and mental laborers and manual laborers have a close relationship with one another.

Each individual, even those of the same nationality or stratum, bears the marks of the education provided by the school, the family and the environment in which he has lived the longest; each individual has developed in a different manner psychologically and physiologically and each has a unique character and disposition.

Due to the varied nature of inter-personal relations, no two are the same. Every relationship is like a mathematical problem, that is, there is a different answer for each of the many cases in which a certain relationship is involved. Have not the relationships between men and women, have not love and marriage been the subjects of novels and poems that have depicted man encountering many different fates for thousands of years and will they not continue to do so for thousands of years to come?

Our life exists and develops as a result of the relations between the generations. Within society there are always several generations living together: one generation is elderly, one is in the prime of life, one is growing up and one has just been born. Every person dies but the people as a whole are immortal. This immortality is manifested in the heritage passed down from one generation to the next. Therefore, the generations have a responsibility to one another: adults must concern themselves with preparing the young generation to carry on their undertaking and that of their forefathers. The young generation must respect, try to learn from and express gratitude to the generation that preceded it. Before he passed away, President Ho taught: "Preparing the revolutionary generations of the future is very important and very necessary work." The relations between children and their parents, between grandchildren and their grandparents, between nephews and nieces and their uncles and aunts and so forth must, in addition to feelings of kinship, also fully reflect the important significance of the relations among the generations.

## II. Guidelines for Establishing Socialist Relations Between One Person and Another

In olden times, the Vietnamese feudal class, acting on the basis of Confucianism, placed the relations between the king and his subjects, between teacher and pupil, between father and son, between husband and wife and between friends within the framework of the five moral obligations, the five cardinal virtues, the three obligations of a woman and the four virtues in a woman. Weddings and funerals were conducted in accordance with the "Book of Ceremonies," which defined the protocols involved in great detail. Therefore, many practices were automatically accepted generation after generation, even among the various strata of laboring people, to the point that they have been

mistakenly identified as national customs! These are inter-personal relations of feudal society and must be changed.

Under colonialism (both old style colonialism and neo-colonialism), all social relations among persons reflected the concepts of the bourgeoisie and imperialists, who value money above everything else, who respect the wealthy and have contempt for the laborer.

Today, we are transforming the society that corrupted man, eradicating each and every cause of this corruption and building a society in which there is no exploitation or oppression of man, a society of equality, prosperity and happiness. Today, in Vietnam, the economic base of all degradation, the private ownership of the instruments of production, is being destroyed. The ideological remnants of the old system, the influences of the neo-colonialist culture and the influences of the psychological war being waged by the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists are being pushed back. The revolution has "shattered the chains that have shackled man for thousands of years; the laborer has risen from the position of working for hire to the position of being the genuine master of the country and society; the dignity of the nation and the dignity of man have been regained."(2)

However, inter-personal relations still involve many problems; the struggle within each family, within each school and in society as a whole between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, the progressive and the reactionary is a sharp struggle.

The ethics of man are expressed in his behavior. Behavior is expressed in actions and words, even in a glance, a smile. Only by respecting persons, only by loving persons who have a sense of obligation to their fellow man can we mold correct behavior and establish wholesome and pure social relations. To be unconcerned with or indifferent toward life, to be irresponsible toward one's fellow man, toward the fatherland is to commit a crime. When he loses his sense of obligation, man becomes a parasite, an exploiter, a selfish and jealous individual and easily becomes a traitor to the fatherland.

Our party has always taught that we must be imbued with the fundamental ethical principle "one for all, all for one" and must inspire ourselves and others by means of the sheer beauty of man's soul and on the basis of developing firm confidence in the ideals of communism and cultivating within oneself a true ability to love and to hate.

Standards are the models of behavior to which everyone must adhere in their inter-personal relations. Many socialist standards of behavior have been defined in the form of documents, in the form of laws, circulars and directives and have been recorded in the country's Constitution. However, there are still many socialist standards that have not been established or are only in the form of unwritten conventions practiced within society, within a family or within a group of persons. Many standards have been given written form but are not being thoroughly implemented, are not being implemented through a movement so that they become customs.

Each socialist standard of every inter-personal relationship must fully reflect the Marxist-Leninist world view, the fine traditions of the nation and our cultural values, must be modern in spirit and rich in national character, must be established on the basis of the truth and loyal devotion and must oppose every practice that is hypocritical and every ethic that is false and superficial. It must be the embodiment of the truth, the good and the beauty of life.

The antagonisms and difficulties that arise in inter-personal relations have very many causes: sometimes they are the result of economic interests of class interests and sometimes they are the result of differing points of view. What are the socialist relations between teacher and student? The Vietnamese have a tradition of respect for teachers:

To cross a river, build a bridge  
To educate your child, love his teacher.

Examined from the point of view of an occupation, teaching is a truly worthy profession. However, the new man does not venerate the teacher as the feudalists did nor does he consent to teachers abusing or beating their students. Le Duan has said: "The relations between teacher and student are nothing more than the relations between friends. Teaching is the occupation that brings one the most friends..."(3) But where do we draw the line so that teachers are not too strict but democracy for students is not taken too far?

Marx said: "Fathers are the best friends of their children"; Le Duan has said that teachers and students are friends, that husbands and wives must live in equality. To persons who are still heavily influenced by the ideological remnants of the old society, this advice goes in one ear and out the other.

The antagonisms and difficulties that are encountered in inter-personal relations are not only the result of failing to accept new viewpoints, but also the result of not knowing the theory or not possessing knowledge of a special field, not having experience in life and so forth. At present, in many theaters, the relationship between the performers on stage and some persons in the audience is not good. They do not applaud good performances but do applaud mediocre performances. When the curtain drops and the performers come out to take a bow, many persons in the audience simply get up and leave and only scattered applause can be heard. Audiences show no respect for, no interest in and no excitement over producers and talented performers. Why is this? Is it because they do not understand the value of artistic labor or the function of art? Is it because they still subscribe to the outdated attitudes that "entertainers are social outcasts," that "art is a form of entertainment" or that "art is commercial, is another way of earning a living"? Is it because the aesthetic level of the masses is not high? Is it because the performances are uninteresting? Whatever the case might be, this situation reflects the "lack of culture" on the part of some theater-goers.

The problems that presently exist in the inter-personal relations in production are primarily the result of the inefficient management and organization of production and the lack of satisfactory regulations and policies. As an example, let us consider the production relations within

agriculture. In the relations between cooperative members and village, district and provincial cadres, there are many matters that must be correctly resolve: personal interests, the interests of the collective and the interests of society, immediate interests and long-range interests, the relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption and the relationship between the economy and the defense of the nation. All levels must quickly replace the management mechanism characterized by bureaucracy and subsidization with the socialist mode of management and business, must make the plan the center of their operations and must closely link the plan to socialist cost accounting and business procedures. In addition, it is necessary to adopt correct policies governing distribution and circulation, such as a correct price policy, purchasing policy, tax policy, distribution policy, a policy on remuneration within cooperatives and so forth. To establish the correct relationship among the "three interests" within agriculture, we must also give attention to the persons who work in the handicraft trades, in small industry, etc.

The defining of standards for socialist inter-personal relations is a difficult task. Inter-personal relations extend over very many fields and many different environments. No one establishes better relations between teachers and students than the Ministry of Education and the schools and no one establishes more concrete relations between buyers and sellers than the commerce agencies and state stores.

Therefore, standards must be codified, must take the specific form of rules, internal regulations, moral guidelines and prohibitions on the basis of each level, on the basis of the function and task of each agency.(4) This work is work that we must gain experience in while performing, work that we must improve, supplement and gradually develop upon. An agency that wishes to achieve order and discipline, achieve an atmosphere of unity and happiness, achieve the new style of work and cultivate the new man and the new lifestyle absolutely must perform this work.

Once standards have been established, applying them in inter-personal relations is a very complicated matter, one in which we are successful at some times and fail at others. Involved here is a matter of methodology, of art, of knowing the persons to whom standards are being applied, of being sensitive to attitudes, being politically sensitive and so forth. Also involved here are the feelings of one person toward another.

Establishing a standard of behavior, a moral guideline and implementing it frequently requires a long struggle waged in many different ways: explanations, persuasion, encouragement and compulsion. We need not examine matters of major importance to see this struggle, it can be seen in minor things that occur in everyday life. There are "no smoking" signs posted in offices and movie theaters. Yet why do some persons who lack self-respect still secretly smoke? Why do not the responsible persons at these places adopt a resolute attitude with regard to banning smoking? This is a problem that has existed for decades and has still not been resolved.

President Ho said: "At a time when the majority of the people do not understand it, when the majority of the people have not adopted the new

lifestyle, we absolutely may not force it upon them. For example, if I do not want to eat meat, no one has the right to force me to eat it. When the majority of our compatriots have adopted the new style of life and only a very few persons have not despite constant urging, we can compel and force them to adopt it. Consider, as an example, a village that has many ponds and many mosquitoes, as a result of which villagers are frequently ill. The villagers who know this willingly fill in their ponds. But, two people decide not to, thus allowing the problems of mosquitoes and frequent illness to continue; for the sake of public hygiene, the village has a right to force these two persons to fill in their ponds."(5)

Establishing socialist inter-personal relations as well as molding the new man and the new style of life are an important part of the ideological and cultural revolution. This is long-range work that cannot be performed in a hasty or impetuous manner because it involves many social relations that have a long history, have a socio-economic base and have their origins in deeply felt feelings. Moreover, the superiority of the new is not always readily evident, rather, it only becomes evident through a sharp struggle against that which is old. Both the establishment of the new lifestyle and the establishment of wholesome inter-personal relations demand subjective efforts on the part of every progressive person within society; however, we cannot forget the objective reality that the country faces within the framework of the two decisive struggles being waged: the struggle between socialism and capitalism and the struggle of our nation against the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers.

We are persons who possess revolutionary optimism but we are not utopians. In the early 1920's, Lenin pointed out: "Any communist who thinks that the economic base and the economic origin of small farmers can be transformed within the space of a few years is, of course, a utopian. And, among us--we need not hide anything--such utopians are quite numerous (...). The transformation of the small farmer and the transformation of all their attitudes and habits are an undertaking that will take many generations to complete. As regards the small farmer, only by supplying agriculture on a large scale with material-technical bases, tractors and machinery and carrying out electrification on a large scale is it possible to resolve this problem, possible to make all their attitudes wholesome attitudes. This is a very quick way to virtually complete the transformation of the small farmer. I said that this work will take many generations but I do not mean that it will take many centuries. You are clearly aware of the fact that several decades are needed to provide a large country with tractors, machinery and electricity. Such is the objective situation."(6)

Lenin's teaching helps us to view the matter of establishing socialist inter-personal relations from a comprehensive prospective and makes us more determined to move steadily forward.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, Volume II, p 492.

2. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 53.
3. Le Duan: "The Socialist Revolution in Vietnam," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 182.
4. See: "The 10 Things That Children Must Not Do With Regard to Adults" (abridged).

1. Do not sit doing nothing while everyone else is working and you know that the adults do not permit you to sit idle.

2. Do not make fun of old age or the elderly. This is a grave display of a lack of respect.

3. Do not argue with persons who are deserving of respect or with adults, especially the elderly.

4. You have no right to demand anything of your parents.

5. You may not let your mother give to you anything that she does not give to herself. The thinking that you have a special right is poison to the soul.

6. Do not do anything that adults have denounced, neither in their presence nor behind their backs.

7. Do not allow adults of the family to live by themselves. It must be remembered that there are stages in life in which man has no greater joy than the joy of contact with his fellow man.

8. Do not make preparations to go out on your own without asking the permission and the opinions of the senior adult, your grandfather.

9. You may not sit eating without inviting the adults to join you. This impolite behavior can be compared to the behavior of the animals, which only know how to be gluttonous and take for themselves.

10. Do not wait for an adult to say "hello" to you first; always say "hello" first when meeting and wish that person good health when saying goodby.

V.A. Zukhomlinski: "How Do We Educate Genuine Persons?", Giao Duc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, pp 107-108.

11. Ian Sinh: "The New Life," Lao Dong Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, pp 46-47.

12. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume 32, pp 276-277.

## COMMUNIST REVIEW

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 3, Mar 83 pp 67-70

[Speech delivered by Hong Chuong at the Conference of the Editorial Boards of the Theoretical and Political Journals of the Fraternal Parties held in Prague, 9 February 1983]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

We are very happy to be participating in this conference of the editorial boards of the theoretical and political journals of the fraternal parties. On behalf of the editorial board of TAP CHI CONG SAN VIETNAM, we extend to you communist greetings. To our Czechoslovakian comrades, our gracious hosts, we extend our profound gratitude.

Dear Comrades,

The Vietnam Communist Party attaches very much importance to teaching Marxist-Leninist theory to cadres and party members. For this reason, the party also attaches importance to the publication of its theoretical journal. Our party was founded on 3 February 1930 and the first issue of the party's theoretical and political journal, TAP CHI CONG SAN, was published on 1 February 1931. Because we lived under the domination of the French imperialists, very many difficulties were encountered in publishing the journal. Because of suppression by the imperialists and the feudalists, the printing and distribution of TAP CHI CONG SAN were frequently interrupted. However, many issues of TAP CHI CONG SAN reached the hands of readers during the years from 1933 to 1935 and in 1943 and 1950. After the total liberation of North Vietnam, the printing and distribution of the party's theoretical journal became easier. In December, 1955, the journal began to be published on a regular monthly basis. During its early years, the party's theoretical journal went under the name TAP CHI HOC TAP. In January, 1977, after our party reassumed its first name, the Vietnam Communist Party, our journal also reassumed the first name of the party's theoretical journal, TAP CHI CONG SAN.

The task of our journal is to spread the line, the policies and the viewpoint of the party on the basis of firmly adhering to the stand of the working class, taking Marxism-Leninism as our foundation and closely coordinating

Marxist-Leninist theory with the realities of the Vietnamese revolution. The journal uses Marxist-Leninist theory to shed light on the positions and policies of the party, deepen the understanding that cadres and party members have of the thinking and policies of the party and help them to avoid mistakes when implementing the policies of the party and state. Our journal has also made competent contributions to the performance of the two strategic tasks of Vietnam at this time, successfully building socialism and being ready to fight to firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Our journal contributes to the review of the work experiences of the party and reaches conclusions of a theoretical nature in order to lead the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. Together with the other agencies of the party, the journal has made a positive contribution to summarizing the historic experiences of the party and writing articles on major issues in the history of the Vietnamese revolution as well as articles on the history of the party. The contents of the journal focus on domestic issues of primary importance while giving appropriate attention to important international issues.

In order to carry out the task defined above, the organization of our journal's editorial board consists of two components: the editorial component and the management component, both of which are under the unified guidance of the editorial board headed by the editor-in-chief. The editorial component consists of the following departments:

1. The economic issues editorial department;
2. The political issues editorial department;
3. The cultural issues editorial department;
4. The editorial department for issues concerning party building;
5. The international issues editorial department.

The management component concerns itself with the printing and distribution of the journal, with contacts with readers and with providing material support of editorial activities.

The 5th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party held in Hanoi in March, 1982, clearly defined the basic tasks of the ideological work of the party as arming the entire party, all the people and the entire army with basic knowledge of scientific socialism and developing a tenacious will, unshakeable determination and the level of knowledge needed to fulfill both strategic tasks: building socialism and defending the fatherland.

Our journal helps cadres, party members and the people to clearly understand the party's general line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy in the period of transition; it helps everyone to become determined to try to implement these lines in a conscious manner with the revolutionary zeal of collective masters. The journal closely links the effort to give readers a thorough understanding of the lines of the party with explaining the specific policies of the party and state. The journal helps readers to understand the present situation of the Vietnamese revolution. It helps readers to see the tremendous victories that have been won on the front of defending the fatherland and the achievements that have been recorded in economic construction and cultural development so that everyone is excited and proud. At the same time, the journal clearly states the difficulties and

analyzes the causes of the difficulties being encountered in production and everyday life, harshly criticizes shortcomings in management and points out guidelines and ways to overcome these difficulties. The journal helps readers to understand that the struggle to carry out socialist construction and socialist transformation is the arduous, decisive, complex and long struggle by socialism against capitalism and helps everyone to firmly adhere to the socialist stand in order to advance this struggle to victory.

Our journal actively participates in the struggle against the various types of non-proletarian thinking by researching, analyzing and criticizing the manifestations of petty bourgeois thinking, determinedly combating bourgeois thinking and combating the remnants of the neo-colonialist culture as well as feudal thinking.

Our journal contributes to teaching and cultivating revolutionary qualities on the part of cadres and party members, combating individualism, opposing opportunism of every form and combating manifestations of a decline in political qualities, of a lack of organizational discipline, of a degenerate lifestyle and of a bureaucratic workstyle among some cadres and party members.

By means of regularly propagandizing Marxism-Leninism, our journal contributes to raising the theoretical qualifications of cadres, party members and the people and helping them to gradually equip themselves with the scientific world view and the revolutionary philosophy of life.

Depending upon its capabilities, our journal also coordinates with other agencies in the research of matters of theory pertaining to the Vietnamese revolution, such as the research of the laws of the period of transition from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development; economic strategy in the initial stage of the period of transition; the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership and the state provides management"; the building of the party under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and with the party being in political power. The journal also participates in the research of such international matters as the new stage of development of the three revolutionary currents of our times; the present global strategy of the U.S. imperialists; criticism of Maoism and the other anti-communist bourgeois ideologies and so forth.

By means of articles on China and Maoism, our journal has shown readers beyond any doubt that the immediate and dangerous enemies of Vietnam at this time are the Chinese expansionists, who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists, has given readers a clear understanding of their schemes and actions to commit aggression against and sabotage Vietnam and has raised their level of vigilance, their level of combat readiness and their spirit of fighting with no regard for themselves to defend the fatherland. We consider focusing our efforts on criticizing the big country expansionism and hegemony of China to be the main feature of the present struggle against Maoism.

As regards the types of articles printed in the journal, in addition to editorials, commentaries and special discussions, we also print investigative research articles, exchanges of opinions, small novels, book reviews, etc.

One-fourth of all the articles printed in the journal are written by leadership cadres of the party and state, one-half are written by specialists and theory cadres and nearly one-fourth are written by cadres on the editorial board.

Our editorial board occasionally sends a team of cadres to a locality to investigate the situation and write an article for the journal.

A few times each year, our editorial board holds a forum to which it invites specialists of the party and state to exchange opinions concerning a specific matter of theory, upon which a general article is based. A few times each year, we organize meetings with readers in order to survey their opinions, evaluations and criticisms of the journal and their suggestions concerning how to improve the content and form of the journal.

As a result of the close guidance provided by the Party Central Committee, the positive cooperation of the mass of collaborators and the wholehearted support of readers, TAP CHI CONG SAN has performed its task well and made a positive contribution to the ideological work of the party. The journal has basically met the requirements of readers with regard to understanding the lines and viewpoints of the party. For this reason, the journal is welcomed by its readers. However, our journal also has some weaknesses and shortcomings. The theoretical quality of the journal does not meet the requirements of the tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. The struggle against incorrect thinking within the party is not a strong or thorough struggle. The journal has not promptly replied to the practical and specific questions being raised in the course of the revolution. Some articles printed in the journal are too long. The quality of other articles is low. In this new year, our editorial board will try to correct its weaknesses and shortcomings, improve the quality of the journal and serve the journal's readers better.

Dear Comrades,

The above are some of the experiences that the editorial board of our journal has gained in its work. We are very pleased to be able to attend this meeting in order to study the experiences of the theoretical journals of the fraternal parties. In past years, our journal has enjoyed cooperative relations with several journals of the fraternal parties. It is our hope that this meeting will provide a good opportunity to further develop these cooperative relations.

In the past, TAP CHI CONG SAN (Vietnam) has received very much support and assistance from THE COMMUNIST JOURNAL (USSR) and the journals of the other fraternal parties. On the occasion, permit us to express our profound gratitude for this valuable support and assistance. May the friendship and cooperation among our journals constantly grow. We wish you good health and many larger achievements in the work of protecting and developing Marxism-Leninism.

Thank you for your attention.

**END OF**

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